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TEN WEEKS IN JAPAN

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TEN WEEKS IN JAPAN

BY

GEORGE SMITH, D.D.

BISHOP OF VICTORIA

(HONGKONG)

LONDON

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1861

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PREFACE.

THE title prefixed to this volume, "Ten Weeks in Japan," will give the reader at the very outset some idea of the nature of its contents. It makes no pretension of being a profound or elaborate treatise on Japan. It is a simple record of facts which the Author witnessed during his brief visit to the country, and on which he has grounded some general observations respecting the moral, social and political condition of the Japanese race.

Some few topics have been incidentally noticed, on which the Author felt considerable difficulty and scruple. In reviewing the true character of Japanese civilisation and the present position of Europeans in that newly-opened country, he considered that he had no alternative but that of facing such ques-

tions and designating evils by their real name. Their omission, though more agreeable to his own feelings, would yet have rendered his description of the national character partial and incomplete.

The Author desires to express his acknowledgment of Messrs. Negretti and Zambra's kind permission to use some of their valuable photographic "Views in Japan" in the pictorial illustrations of this work. Five out of the eight wood-cuts were taken from their photographs, by Mr. G. Pearson.

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ERRATUM.

Page 251, fifth line from bottom, *for* "Kanagawa" *read* "Yokuhama."

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TEN WEEKS IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF JAPAN.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION.—PHYSICAL ADVANTAGES.—HER SECLUSION A MODERN POLICY.—FORMER INTERCOURSE WITH SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.—ARRIVAL OF ROMAN-CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES.—EXPULSION OF EUROPEANS.—TRADITIONS OF NATIONAL INVINCIBILITY.—REPULSE OF TARTAR INVASIONS.—NEW ERA OF HOPE.

THE internal condition of the Japanese empire is a subject which commends itself at all times, and especially at the present juncture, as one full of attractive interest and instructive information to the merchants, the politicians, and the philanthropists of Christendom. Situated midway in the ocean-track between the world's two great Isthmuses, and lying on the high-road and thoroughfare of maritime traffic across the Pacific between the Eastern and the Western hemispheres, Japan at the present time concentrates upon herself no ordinary amount of attention and inquiry. Her situation on the globe permits her no longer to retain her isolation and seclusion from the rest of mankind. The world revolves with accele-

rated speed on the busy axis of colonisation and commerce; and Japan is borne involuntarily onward and around in its progressive and ever-ceaseless motion. The vast and increasing extent of British and American trade with China, — the necessities of foreign steam-vessels in those eastern seas, and the abundant supply from the Japanese coal-fields, — the various European settlements in the adjoining Indian Archipelago, — the discovery of gold-fields on either side of the Pacific, — the progress of our Australian colonial trade and the numerous vessels which sail from Sydney to the regions bordering on the Chinese and Japanese waters, — the rapid development of the material resources of California, — the newly-founded settlements of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, — the connection of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a railway across the Isthmus of Panama, — the stream of population attracted to new scenes of enterprise in the Sandwich Islands and along the western coasts of North and South America, — the numerous whaling-vessels visiting the Japanese coast from the North Pacific, — the encroachments and extension of the Russian frontier along the banks of the Amoor river and on the Kurile Islands, — and, lastly, the thin end of the wedge of foreign diplomacy and European intercourse already inserted and likely to penetrate still further the compact mass of her social and political institutions, — all constitute a new era in the history of our relations to Japan, and combine in bringing that empire, even in spite of herself, into more intimate fellowship with the outer world.

The many remarkable traits in the national character of the Japanese help also to deepen the interest of European observers, and to excite sanguine hopes respecting the future destiny of Japan, when the present restrictions on her intercourse with foreign nations are removed, and her bold and enterprising children are brought into free contact and competition with the other portions of the human race. Japan possesses many external advantages which fit her for taking hereafter a high position as a mercantile and manufacturing people among the nations of the earth. Placed in an intermediate position between the extremes of cold and heat, she enjoys the blessings of a salubrious climate and a moderate range of temperature, best suited for rearing a hardy and adventurous race. The prevalence of fogs and mists, with alternate sunshine and rain, has probably contributed its share with other influences in imparting to the people of Japan some of the solid, stable and energetic qualities of natural disposition, which are the characteristic marks of the population of the humid climate of Great Britain. Not unlike in her geographical configuration and position at the extremity and border-edge of a continent, Japan seems adapted to assume that relative place among surrounding nations in the East which Great Britain has long filled in the countries of the West. The Japanese coast is indented with bays, and her seas studded with islands. Superiority in nautical affairs will be an accomplishment easy of attainment to her maritime population of fishermen and sailors. Her soil invites the indus-

try and returns an ample recompense to the toil of the cultivator. She is exempted from the enervating influences which tempt the natives of the tropics to an indolent and listless contentment with the spontaneous gifts of Providence amid the sedative and seductive repose engendered by their balmy sunny skies and a sense of few wants amid the lavish bounty of the Creator. She is, at the same time, released from the hard and toilsome struggle for daily food amid the rigorous severities of perpetual winter, which chills the hopes and stunts the energies of the inhabitants of the polar regions.

The people of Japan enjoy that healthy and proportionate intermixture of physical advantages and material wants, which has always been found the most effectual incentive to human exertion, and which has ever proved in the regions of the temperate zone the most favourable condition of external circumstances for developing national character—and for nurturing, training and finally sending forth upon their career of progressive power and civilisation the great colonising and conquering races of the world.

It is important too to bear in mind that the seclusion of Japan is a comparatively modern policy; and that there was a time when that country was fully accessible to Europeans. Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch vessels traded openly and unrestrictedly with the ports of Bungo, Nagasaki, and Firando. The English East India Company, in the early part of the seventeenth century, sent for a time their vessels to the last-named port. The Japanese themselves in

large numbers visited foreign countries. The educated youth of Japan were accustomed in former times to repair to China for the purpose of completing their literary studies and of being instructed in the moral tenets of the Confucian sages. The neighbouring seas and shores bore evidence of the courageous and daring prowess of her sailors. The peaceful population of the Chinese coast often suffered from the piratical raids of Japanese free-booters; and the traditionary remembrance of their lawless incursions for a long period of time inspired terror among the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Chehkeang and Keangsoo provinces. Japanese trading settlements existed on the island of Formosa. Throughout the Indian Archipelago, Japanese adventurers were wont to hire their services as armed mercenaries to the petty native sovereigns or to the governors of the rival European settlements. Siam, Gambodia, Amboyna, Java and even the shores of India witnessed the presence of her fleets and the indomitable enterprise of her mariners.

Francis Xavier and his fellow-labourers in the sixteenth century found here a people singularly prepared to appreciate the high moral truths of the Christian religion, and an open field for their missionary enterprise. Portuguese traders and settlers were allowed to intermarry with Japanese ladies. The Portuguese Jesuit, Louis Almeyda, was everywhere welcomed among the territorial princes of Kewsew. Sumitanda, Prince of Omura, lives in Roman Catholic histories among the royal names of converts to their

missions. Four Japanese of noble rank were permitted to go as an embassy from the Princes of Bungo, Arima and Omura to Pope Gregory XIII. at Rome, and spent eight years of absence from Japan. The Roman Catholic fathers were held in honourable repute, and gained a wide-spread influence in various parts of the country. Japan, to all human appearance, seemed on the verge of becoming a professedly Christian nation, and of being enrolled among the adherents of the Papacy.

But these flattering appearances were soon changed; and for nearly two centuries and a half Japan has closed her gates against the rest of the world. The period of Roman Catholic missions was marked by the first inauguration of the restrictive policy of the Japanese. The firm hand and resolute determination of the well-known Tyco-sama repressed the threatening combination of Christian converts and their partisans among the sovereign princes of the empire. His successor in the office of secular emperor, Eyayyes, filled up what was wanting to give completeness to the overthrow of the dreaded and detested sect. The Christian religion and foreign nations by the Imperial edict of A.D. 1638 were involved in one common expulsion and extermination from Japan.

More modern times have witnessed some partial and unsuccessful efforts to re-open the closed portals of Japan. The native government sometimes resented with measures of sanguinary retaliation the supposed audacity of these affronts to her pride. The execution of the Portuguese deputies sent from

Macao, and the destruction of a Spanish galleon in the harbour of Nagasaki, were a terrible comment, written in letters of blood, on the unrelenting policy of their national seclusion from the rest of the world. Our King Charles II. made an abortive attempt to revive the English trade in 1673. The Dutch settlement at Nagasaki and the neighbouring Chinese guild were alone permitted to remain.

The traditions of their own early history combine with their more recent recollections of the successful ejection of Europeans from the country in rendering the government and people of Japan proud and haughty in the conscious invincibility of their race and the natural impregnability of their coasts. In the year A.D. 799 the Tartars, who had invaded Japan and overrun a portion of the country, lost their fleet in one night from one of the severe gales which prevail on their shores, and were in turn attacked, routed and exterminated by the Japanese army, so that not a man was left to carry back the news of their disaster to their country. In the year A.D. 1281, the Tartars, with an army of 240,000 invaders under the Emperor Kublai Khan, after subduing Corea, renewed the attempt of conquering Japan, and sustained a similar defeat and destruction. The complete success which has attended the attempts of the Japanese government to exclude foreigners and exterminate the native Christian party are too well known to need further mention.

A new era of hope has commenced for the empire of Japan; and she at length appears likely to cultivate

friendly relations with European powers. May the failures arising from the want of dignified firmness and conciliatory forbearance in the demeanour of foreign diplomatists,—of moral integrity and virtuous self-respect in European mercantile residents and traders,—and of zeal tempered with wisdom, of cautious abstinence from political affairs, and of mutual harmony among themselves, on the part of Christian missionaries,—which are among the lessons inscribed for our admonition in the past history of foreign connection with Japan,—prove in our future intercourse with that people a beacon of warning against the errors of former times, and a chapter of human experience not altogether written in vain!

CHAP. II.

ARRIVAL AT NAGASAKI.

VOYAGE FROM SHANGHAE TO NAGASAKI. — LODGING IN BUDHIST TEMPLE. — VIEW OF CITY AND HARBOUR. — BRITISH CONSULATE. — DUTCH FACTORY. — FORMER JAPANESE ARROGANCE AND HUMILIATIONS OF DUTCH. — THEIR IMPRISONMENT IN DESIMA.

On April 7th, 1860, I embarked at Shanghae in the steamer "Yangtze," by the favour of an English mercantile friend, on the voyage from China to Japan. Our destination was the port of Nagasaki, the nearest point of the insular kingdom of Japan to the Chinese continent, and distant about 450 miles from Shanghae. Our course lay at first to the southward down the river Yang-tze-keang, from the mouth of which we sailed on a course between east and north-east.

On the morning of the 9th we came within sight of the Gotto head-land, and were soon after in smoother and more sheltered waters. Various small islets with their well-wooded landscapes soon came into view; and at length the great island of Kew-sew in all its bold and varied outline of mountain-ridge, undulating hill and fertile valley, was within sight. We were approaching the shores of Japan.

Sailing up a deep bay opening outwards to the west, we passed each successive point of the adjoining shore, and gradually were enabled to obtain a clearer and more detailed view of the various objects which met the eye. Villages of fishermen's huts, a few interspersed farm-houses, some temple-like buildings, and occasionally a little beacon or wooden watch-tower perched on some elevated summit, were descried with increasing clearness and precision. Soon again a battery of guns, with mat-sheds affording a shelter from the inclemency of the elements, presented a front of frowning menace on the adventurous stranger who came unbidden to these proverbially inhospitable shores. Nearer still we approach, and human forms are distinguishable on land. Reaching the extremity of the outer bay, we bend our course to the north; and passing on our left the small precipitous island of Papenberg, with its verdant foliage and its dark and mingled historical associations of persecutions and martyrdoms, we enter the inner harbour which stretches towards the city of Nagasaki lying four miles distant. Coppices of evergreen trees dotted on the hill-sides to their highest summits, and patches of agricultural crops of every colour and hue divided by hedge-rows into a network of richest verdure, gave a fascinating appearance to the landscape, and formed a striking contrast to the tame, dull monotony of the low level land on the mud-banks of the Yang-tze-keang and in the alluvial plain of Shanghae.

Signs of busy excitement were soon apparent in

the numerous native boats plying their oars, or, more strictly speaking, working their sculls, and hastening to anticipate our arrival at the anchorage. Three hours earlier the customary signal-gun, reverberating from hill to hill, had announced a foreign vessel in sight; and our actual arrival in port took them not by surprise. We steamed onward through the rapidly-increasing throng of boats, and dropped anchor within a few hundred yards of the shore. A crowd of Japanese officials, each girded with two swords, climbed up the vessel's side, and were soon intermingled with a number of European mercantile residents recently settled at the port, and anxious to receive the latest news. The usual excitement and noises of Asiatic crews soon prevailed; and everything wore the appearance of busy animation on the deck. As we adjourned to the dinner-table in the principal saloon, the Japanese official visitors were left to themselves outside, and patiently bore the lengthened delay in the hope of receiving the highly-prized luxury of a glass of foreign liqueur. Every race, colour and costume had its representative on board; and European, American, African, Parsee, Chinese and Lascar, forming a motley assemblage on the deck of the newly-arrived steamer, were a practical illustration of the revolution of policy and custom which has begun to dawn upon the destinies of Japan.

An English acquaintance from Hongkong was soon along-side in his boat, and conveyed me to the nearest landing-place on the beach. Threading our way through the rugged fragments of rock, we walked by

a slight ascent to the point of shore, where a due array of pendants and flags, and a cannon pointed outwards on the bay, signified to a stranger the locality of the Receipt of Customs. Here a few native officials were standing and watching each boat which conveyed foreign cargoes to the shore. We pressed onward without any interruption into a narrow dirty suburb now occupied as the foreign trading quarter. There was no time nor leisure for dwelling on the scenes of novel interest which met the eye at every turn, or letting loose the imagination to roam over the past, present and future of this long-secluded land. Weakened by the voyage, I was glad to accept the proffered loan of a Japanese pony to carry me to my destination in the city. Emerging from a narrow by-lane, I was soon riding through the more spacious and well-paved streets, amid the usual crowd of native way-farers, who evinced no surprise at the presence of European visitors, and readily furnished information in reply to my English guide inquiring the nearest route. My way afterwards lay in the direction of a hill overhanging the city and covered with temples, in one of which I was to be domiciled during my stay. Two hundred feet of ascent by flights of steep and continuous steps were a feat easy of achievement to my sure-footed unshod native steed. After a few devious turns and renewed ascents, we came at last to the Budhist temple, in which my friend and host, Rev. C. M. Williams, resides as a missionary from the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and

which for more than five weeks became the pleasant scene of my temporary abode.

On the following morning the priest of the temple came to pay his respects; and soon after a couple of two-sworded gentry waited upon us. Whether the visit of the latter was prompted by curiosity or was secretly arranged by their official superiors for the purposes of espionage, it was difficult to determine. They were open, frank and respectful in their demeanour, readily exhibiting any article of dress, and taking pride in displaying the keen edge of their swords, which in temper and sharpness equalled the best Damascus blades. A troop of fifteen Japanese coolies soon after arrived with my Chinese servant in charge of my baggage from the ship. They seemed highly pleased with the gift of two hundred iron-cash each (equivalent to the sum of two-pence) as a reward for their toil in bearing it up the hill. Mr. Williams inhabited two rooms boarded off from the general area of the temple, and sheltered by a partition from the cold wind. One of these was appropriated to my use. My camp-bed was spread; a table, chair, and other necessary furniture were extemporised for the occasion. In half an hour's time I was comfortably domiciled in my new abode. Our priest-landlord took considerable interest in the arrangement of my quarters, and betrayed no scruples in volunteering to remove the image of Budha's mother and the usual implements of idolatrous worship from a small chapel in the adjoining court, in the event of our requiring an

extension of our lodging. A little yard upon which our apartments opened contained some fine specimens of Japanese floral beauty. Camellias, fuchsias, double-blossoming peach and cherry trees, and rhododendrons displayed their richest tints and varied colours. Pines, firs, coppices of larch and the gracefully-waving bamboo, with a number of species of larger timber trees with their wide-spreading branches beginning to be covered with the green foliage of spring, rose on all sides around and above us; and the calm quiet stillness of the scene lent a peculiar charm and enchantment to the spot.

The hill on which our quarters were established rose immediately from the eastern portion of the city of Nagasaki. From our elevation of 200 feet above the general level of the city, we commanded one of the finest views which imagination could picture to the eye. At our feet lay the city, streets and thoroughfares, crowded with busy way-farers. Beyond it stretched the magnificent harbour with its spacious waters, the upper part of the inner bay being covered with shipping, native and European. In the distance a grand amphitheatre of verdure-clad hills closed in the prospect; while every spot of the rising acclivity in the immediate vicinity of our own dwelling was crowded with tomb-stones and family mausoleums, interspersed amid plantations of green trees and shrubs, which were frequented every evening by crowds of worshippers visiting the tombs of their fore-fathers and renewing the pious offerings of fresh garlands and newly-gathered flowers. The

external aspect of this city, with all the varied picturesque beauties of the surrounding country, possesses for a European visitor lately arrived from the opposite coast of China a peculiar attractiveness and novel delight. The climate too gave a zest to one's enjoyment of the scene. A blue sky, a bracing air, and frequent showers in the spring season, impart an English character to the temperature, and permit an abundance of out-door exercise in surveying the various objects of local interest.

I took an early opportunity of visiting the British Consul, and calling at the houses of the principal European and American mercantile residents, forming at the present time, with the captains of a few foreign vessels in port, and a small number of officers of the Dutch factory, a community of about sixty persons. Descending the hill in company with my host, I was at once introduced to the realities of Japanese daily life. Groups of native children, seated on the flights of stone steps or engaged in their lively and uproarious pastimes in the temple-courts, everywhere awaited us with their juvenile greetings. My companion seemed to be a well-known friend and favourite among them. The friendly salutation "O-hio" was shouted forth by their little voices, while the more nimble portion of the company endeavoured to shake the missionary's hand, or pleaded with him for the gift of a button. The adult portion of the neighbours in the subjacent streets partook also of these indications of friendly feeling, exchanging bows and good-natured recog-

nitions as we passed before their doors. Our way lay to the south, through one of the widest and best-paved streets of the city, skirting a portion of the bay and conducting us at the distance of a mile and a half across a little rivulet to a slight eminence, forming a promontory overhanging the harbour, on which the British union-jack flying aloft pointed out the site of the British Consulate. A temple situated on a fine point of shore and looking down upon the harbour towards the west, had been converted into a consular dwelling according to the usual practice rendered necessary in the want of private houses suitable and available for the residence of foreign officials. A large number of Japanese labourers were engaged in excavating a hill abutting on the adjoining suburb, and filling up a portion of the bay with the removed materials as a foundation for the site of the future foreign settlement. At the present time the foreign merchants and traders were lodged in small Japanese houses temporarily adapted to European use, and inconveniently situated for the stowage of goods.

After visiting the mercantile residents dispersed over the southern suburb, we retraced our steps towards the old Dutch factory in Desima, situated on the western extremity of the city and spread out in a fan-like form on the edge of the harbour. It is impossible to visit this spot without having powerful associations of mingled and opposite interest called into remembrance.

The very name of Desima has long been con-

nected with everything calculated to inspire a sense of Japanese arrogance and Dutch humiliation. Raised from the bottom of the sea and projecting into the harbour, it is said to have been artificially called into existence as a locality exempted from the rigorous proscription and exclusion of foreigners from Japanese soil. To this spot the Dutch were confined on the expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The island of Firando, a site of comparative freedom and independence of vexatious control, was the original settlement ceded to the Dutch. But at a later period they were compelled to break up their mercantile establishments and to migrate thence to Nagasaki, in order to afford relief to that city now impoverished by the cessation of the Spanish and Portuguese trade, and to facilitate the newly-established system of native espionage and police. Here in the limited area of Desima, they were guarded as in a prison-house, and subjected to all the jealous vigilance of their Japanese keepers. A little stone bridge connected the island with the streets of the city and formed a guard-house with soldiers constantly on duty. In the opposite direction two strong gates facing upon the harbour were never opened for the egress or ingress of the imprisoned Dutchmen, except on the occasion of loading or unloading their vessels. A high wall of planks ran around the little settlement, surmounted on the top with a double row of spikes. Extending in the form of an oblong square, it was traversed by a

central street about 250 yards in length, containing on either side a few residences for the Dutch traders and warehouses for storing merchandise. Another path ran along the whole extent of the outer side towards the harbour, terminating at its northern extremity in the spot occupied by the garden and dwelling of the superintendent of the factory. The utmost breadth did not exceed 100 yards. At a short distance a palisade of thirteen posts erected in the water contained wooden tablets bearing Japanese inscriptions warning under the severest penalties all native boats and vessels from holding intercourse with the foreigners or approaching the site of Desima. On the narrow bridge leading to the city public notices of the most offensive character were placarded prohibiting all ingress except to "courtesans and mendicant priests of the mountain Kofu."

The accounts of Dutch writers who have recorded their experience of Desima, abound with incidents partaking of the ludicrous and the pathetic. Kaempfer, Thunberg and Titsingh have handed down in their narratives the details of their humiliation. On the first day of the arrival of the vessel from Batavia, a cordon of guard-boats was drawn around her; the rudder was unshipped and carried to the custom-house ashore; all powder and ammunition was delivered up; and (as if to give a finishing stroke to the completeness of the degradation) all prayer-books, bibles and hymn-books were collected from the crew, and placed in charge of the native police during the detention of the ship in port. A register was kept of

every foreigner on board, with their names, ages, and employments duly recorded. The muster-roll was called over every day, in order to prevent any one escaping from the factory, or being left behind on the departure of the vessel. The common sailors were every day searched with a strictness often amounting to personal indecency, lest any foreign goods should be illicitly smuggled among their garments. The Dutch captains enjoyed at first an exemption from this vexatious process, and were reported to make large profits on the goods furtively introduced in their well-wadded uniforms as they twice or thrice daily visited and returned from the vessel. The large capacious trousers and stout obesity of these privileged officers, who sometimes required two or three sailors to assist in supporting them at the landing, soon roused the suspicions of the ever-wakeful spies. About the same time the wreck of a Dutch vessel was drifted upon the shore of the neighbouring province of Satsuma, and supplied from the ship's papers incontestable proofs of the illicit trade which had long prevailed. This led to a stringent order that even the Dutch superintendent and captains should be searched. From this date they rapidly dwindled down in bodily size to the average scale of dimensions; and the profits of the voyage from Batavia to Japan were proportionably diminished and rendered less an object of desire.

During the two or three months' stay of the vessel at Nagasaki, the officers and crew were lodged in Desima. Boats rowed round the vessel the whole night

on the water, and watchful sentries guarded the little immured community on land.

On the appointed day for the ship's sailing from the outer anchorage no violence of weather or tempestuous raging of the elements was accepted as an excuse for delay. Convoyed and guarded into the outer waters, the Dutch vessel was forced to take her immediate departure from the Japanese coast. The director or superintendent of the factory, with about ten subordinate officers, alone remained, each possessing a slave-attendant brought from Java. Exposed to all the irksomeness of exile from civilised society, and exempted from the usual incentives to exertion during nine months of the year, the Dutch residents gradually relaxed the moral restraints of Christendom and sank by degrees into a state of social demoralisation, which called forth the severe and just reflections of Thunberg. Tobacco, drinking and illicit connection with native women formed the usual routine of life, varied once or twice in each year by an excursion into some neighbouring locality, under the charge of a numerous Japanese retinue, for which they were mulcted in heavy and exorbitant charges. A bastard-progeny of mixed descent was sometimes to be seen in the streets immediately bordering on the island-settlement. But generally few children were observable of Dutch parentage; and their absence or removal has afforded to former writers an occasion of speculation on the secret causes.

The annual journey of the chief of the factory to Yeddo helped to diversify the monotony of this un-

fortunate company of exiles. Treated with the external marks of respect usually accorded to the great territorial princes and feudal lords *en route* to the Imperial capital, they were at the same time exposed to acts of degradation and restriction which converted their visit into one continuous series of vexatious annoyances. Prohibited from speaking to any one on the road, they were hurried at the close of each successive day's stage unceremoniously into some retired room at the rear of the public refectory-house, and there guarded as culprits on their way to punishment rather than as envoys from an independent foreign nation to the Imperial presence. Admitted to a hasty interview with Japanese royalty, they had to bear the slighting hauteur of the monarch and the rude curiosity of the palace officials; and then forthwith to return by the same long, tedious journey, only to experience anew the recurrence of the monotonous incidents of their captivity. The Japanese officers who guarded the settlement were bound by oath and exposed to the severest penalties for breach of regulations. Middlemen practised their extortionate exactions and levied their arbitrary rates of payment for every article of purchase. Letters from abroad were first examined, opened and perused by Japanese officials before delivery to the Dutch. Every missive despatched from Desima was subjected to the same scrutiny. And such for two centuries has been the melancholy and humiliating tale of Dutch intercourse with Japan; one unvarying series of injuries, slights and insults per-

severingly inflicted and patiently endured,—and with but slender and occasional modifications continued to within a few years of the present generation of living men,—all borne by the representatives of a former first-rate European maritime power in the interests of commercial gain, and offered up as a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of Mammon. Among the records even of the East India Company's intercourse with Chinese officials at Canton, it is difficult and (it is to be hoped) impossible to single out any acts of abject servility which can admit of reasonable comparison with those of the Dutch government and their official representatives in Japan.*

* Kaempfer, in Book V. ch. xii. of his work on Japan, thus describes some of the details of the audience given by the emperor in 1691 to Von Butenheim, who is styled by Kaempfer "Director of our trade and ambassador to the emperor's court."

"Having waited upwards of an hour, and the emperor having in the meanwhile seated himself in the hall of audience, Sino Kami and the two commissioners came in and conducted our resident into the emperor's presence, leaving us behind. As soon as he came thither, they cried out aloud '*Hollanda Captain!*' which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly he *crawled on his hands and knees* to a place showed him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other; and then kneeling he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so *crawled backwards like a crab* without uttering one single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch."

The particulars of Kaempfer's second visit to the Imperial Court at Yeddo in 1692 in the suite of Van Outhoorn, brother to the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia and director of the Dutch factory at Desima, are (if possible) more humiliating than the previous visit.

"The emperor and two ladies sat behind the grated screen on our right, and Bingo-Sama, President of the Council of State, op-

I took an early opportunity of paying my respects to Mr. T. K. de Wit, who has recently arrived as

posite to us in a room by himself. Soon after we came in, and had, after the usual obeisances, seated ourselves on the place assigned us, Bingo-Sama welcomed us in the emperor's name, and then desired us to sit upright, to take off our cloaks, to tell him our names and age, to stand up, to walk, to turn about, to dance, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse one with another, &c." "We were then further commanded to put on our hats, to walk about the room discoursing with one another, to take off our perukes." "They made us *jump*, *dance*, *play gambols*, and walk together;" "then they made us kiss one another, like man and wife, which the ladies showed particularly by their laughter they were well pleased with." "After this farce was over, we were ordered to take off our cloaks, to come near the screen one by one, and to take our leave in the very same manner we would take it of a prince or king in Europe, which being done, seemingly to their satisfaction, we went away."

The following is the account of the farewell interview with the Council of State four days later:

"Having stayed about half an hour in the waiting-room, the 'captain' (Dutch ambassador) was called in before the Councillors of State, who ordered one of the commissioners to read the usual orders to him, which they do by turns. The orders were among the rest, and chiefly to the following effect, — that we should not molest any ships or boats of the Chinese or Liqueans (*i. e.* Lewkewans, Lewchewans or Loochooans), nor bring any Portuguese or priests into the country on board our ships, and that upon these conditions we should be allowed a free commerce. The orders being read, the ambassador was presented with thirty gowns laid on three present-boards, each of which was somewhat longer than two mats, and a letter of fortune, as they call it, as a mark of the emperor's favour; upon which he *crept on all fours* to receive the same."

At another interview with the emperor these poor Dutchmen were compelled again to exhibit themselves as a laughing-stock to the Imperial Court. Kaempfer says afterwards:—"The obeisances made, I was ordered to sing a song." "The two commissioners and the governor went with us as far as the waiting-room, where we took our leave of them amidst the *compliments*

president of the factory; and also to his predecessor in office, Mr. Donker Curtius, who negotiated the last Dutch treaty with the Japanese government at Yeddo. My narrative will comprise also some incidents of my subsequent intercourse with Mr. Von Siebold, and other Dutch officials who are now resident in Nagasaki. To all these gentlemen, and to the captain of the Dutch war-steamer then in port, I was indebted for kind attentions during my stay; and I should be sorry if the preceding comments on the history of past Dutch intercourse with Japan should be construed into anything like invidious reflections upon the gentlemen who compose the Dutch factory at the present time.

and loud acclamations of the courtiers, for so *favourable a reception* as we had met with from his Imperial Majesty, *being much beyond whatever they remembered anybody could boast of*."—(Kaempfer, Book V. chapter xiv.)

CHAP. III.

CITY OF NAGASAKI.

STREET-SCENES AND NATIVE TRADES. — JAPANESE CEMETERY. — CHINESE GRAVES. — GRAND RELIGIOUS HOLIDAY. — "OCTAVE" OF BUDHIST SERVICES. — DEVOUTNESS OF MULTITUDE. — A JAPANESE PREACHER. — POPULAR RESPECT FOR PRIESTHOOD.

A SKETCH of my daily movements among the people will be a convenient mode of illustrating the ordinary life of the Japanese; and enable the reader to form his own estimate of their position in the scale of comparative civilisation.

As a newly-arrived stranger walks securely along the streets and thoroughfares of a Japanese city, he finds it at first difficult to realise the fact that he is moving freely among scenes which until recently no modern European visitor was permitted to explore. In such circumstances novelty, surprise and a sense of freedom are apt to produce an elation of spirits and a disposition to regard every object from the most favourable point of view. Hence there arises a perceptible danger on the part of a traveller of his carrying away a few hastily-formed impressions from a superficial view of the daily habits and life of the people, and grounding thereupon an exaggerated idea

of the external prosperity and civilisation of the nation. The author will deem himself happy, if he is preserved from both extremes in judging and describing the condition of this interesting race.

The first feelings excited by a visit to a Japanese city, are a sense of bewilderment and awe caused by the very novelty of the situation, and the remembrance that the scenes, habits and customs, so new to him, are but the reflection of above two thousand years of continuous national life, without any great change in the physical or moral aspect of the country. Those over-hanging hills covered with the rich foliage of perennial green, among whose shadows the city of Nagasaki lies embosomed in the sheltered valley 2000 feet below, looked down in ages long lost in the deep oblivion of the past, on scenes and occurrences in no important particular differing from those of the present hour. The ordinary appearances and incidents which we witnessed in the city of Nagasaki were probably also a correct picture of similar scenes in every part of Japan. The busy crowd of population was borne onward through the city thoroughfares, each individual intent on his own object, and every man pursuing his separate vocation. In one part a confectioner's shop attracted its eager company of old and young engaged in the purchase of sweetmeats, or endeavouring to appease hunger by the more homely fare of rice-dumplings and rye-cakes. In another part, a fishmonger's stall, covered with conger-eels, mackerel, soles, lobsters and cray-fish, or with sliced cutlets of star-fish and cuttle-fish, invited the more affluent to

purchase the materials of a feast. Occasionally a butcher's shambles were the scene of attraction, where a whale lately stranded on a neighbouring beach, or harpooned by an adventurous fleet of fishing-boats, furnished an over-abundant and cheap supply of coarse red meat resembling raw beef, and gave for some days an impulse to the carnivorous tastes of the lower classes. Next we come to fruiterers' shops well supplied with the fruits of the season; green-grocers' stalls decked out with bunches of turnips, carrots, sweet potatoes, egg-plants and the usual horticultural produce of a semi-tropical vegetation. We pass next in succession numerous flower-shops exhibiting their tastefully-arranged garlands, miniature-shrubs, and dwarfed trees resembling in all the fantastic imitation of an artificially-stunted growth of a few inches high the spreading boughs and gnarled trunks of the giants of the forest. Sellers of dried fruits and candied preserves, grain-dealers, poulterers, egg-merchants, weavers, cotton-cleaners, tailors and umbrella-makers, now in their turn fill up either side of the way. Soon again we pass the spacious warehouses of the dealers in sauces, condiments and soys, where large jars lie filled with decoctions of pulse and rice, and are left to ferment and become mellow with exposure and age. Wine-taverns and spirit-shops occupy no inconsiderable space, displaying their numerous rows of sakee-jars, and plying a successful trade among the alcohol-loving natives. In another part silk-mercers display their glossy wares and gorgeous folds hanging from the ceiling and form-

ing a little labyrinth of bright-flowered festoons and embroidered drapery. Further on book-stalls and picture-shops, exhibiting every variety of native costume and exposing for sale some grotesque caricatures of European visitors, foreign vessels and Dutch uniforms, attracted the more idle class of gazers. Again we pass the usual assemblage of money-changers, glass-blowers, incense-stick manufacturers, idol-makers, shoe-makers, lantern-makers, braziers, old-clothes dealers, needle-makers, tobacco-leaf cutters, druggists and herb-sellers, doctors' shops and vendors of quack-medicines, stationers and pen-and-ink manufacturers, opticians and spectacle-makers. In another quarter, pipes, toys, spinning-tops, knives, swords, scissors, metal head-pins and female ornaments, Chinese mariners' compasses and clumsy imitations of Dutch telescopes are exposed to view. Soon again we reach shops of a higher class, where porcelain ware of exquisite quality and surpassing in delicate transparency and thin substance the egg-shell from which it sometimes derives its name; lacquered cabinets and household furniture richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl figures; tortoise-shell ornaments worked into every conceivable device and pattern; and antique vases of bronze metal boasting an almost mythological period of origin and bearing a proportionably fabulous price,—invite the more wealthy class of native purchasers, or (as is now becoming more generally the case) command increasingly high prices from the European frequenters of Japanese curiosity-shops. And (to anticipate the

more detailed descriptions in the subsequent parts of my narrative) I may here state that after visiting this medley throng of Japanese traders, shop-keepers, and artisans, the first impression generally borne away is a sense of tawdriness and want of finish in the products of native industry and skill; a feeling that if here there are no commonly observable signs of extreme destitution and want, there are also on the other hand no generally prevailing indications of great wealth or luxurious and expensive tastes. The forms of misery too are not wholly absent from the scene; and the newly arrived European stranger has to banish from his mind some of the more highly coloured views and over-drawn pictures which have enlisted his prepossessions in favour of the Japanese race. Cutaneous eruptions, loathsome sores, and a multitude of bodily ailments, disfiguring the personal appearance and bearing the hereditary taint of parental disease, are frequently observable in the streets. And yet there is something peculiarly striking in the universal neatness of their private dwellings and the graceful appearance of their dress. The fine loose flowing robe and capacious dependent sleeves which form their ordinary outer dress, each individual bearing on his breast and shoulders the neatly emblazoned figures of his family armorial bearings, give a semblance of dignity to their exterior bearing and address, as they pass onward and exchange the frequent salutation of a low formal bow and mutual greeting. A person unfamiliar with this striking oriental garb might picture to himself a whole nation

clad in the every-day costume of the Roman toga, or attired in the Academic gown of an English graduate in Arts. The large number of public bathing-rooms and the frequency of their bodily ablutions have also earned for the Japanese the character of personal cleanliness as a nation. Few wants, simple habits, prescriptive usage, settled forms and a rigid subdivision and mutual separation of classes, all combine in withdrawing many of the usual incentives to exertion, and imparting a dull unvarying uniformity to their pursuits. Order, tranquillity, subjection to rule, and obedience to authority, are the natural results of a widely-diffused system of police-agents and government spies, and are deeply-seated principles of conduct in the national character.

In the early part of the second day of my sojourn I accompanied Mr. Williams on a pedestrian excursion on the adjoining hill-side, which is here covered with grave-yards and forms one of the most crowded cemeteries of the city. Nothing is to be seen in the country affording more beautiful specimens of their architectural taste, than the variety and elaborateness of their solid and finely-carved granite monuments. They consist of every kind of pattern and degree of costliness, from the simple upright stone pillar standing on its square pedestal below and inscribed with the name of the deceased, — to the figured column adorned with gilt characters, rising from the centre of square steps forming an extended basement gradually converging inwards, and terminated at the top by the image of a Budhist devotee seated on a gigantic lotus-

flower. Some of them were arched over at the top, or surmounted by a miniature roof. A close inspection of these family mausoleums, with their areas carefully swept and surrounded by rows of upright monuments, gives a favourable impression of their regard for the dead, and forms a striking feature in the landscape. Observed at a distance from the opposite side of the harbour, these hills have the appearance of one great grave-yard with its white obelisks and pillars emerging into view through the trees. The tombs are treated with great respect by the people, and are frequently revisited for the purpose of placing presents of flowers or offerings of cakes. A small trough of water stands before each tomb, and on either side are two little bamboo joints as receptacles for incense-sticks. A Japanese boy whom we met, accompanied us on our walk and readily volunteered his explanations, especially endeavouring to impress us with the certainty of misfortune happening to those who refused to worship the spirits at the tombs. The inscriptions bore the posthumous names given by the priests to those persons whose surviving friends deemed it worth while to invite sacerdotal offices at the funeral and to expend the customary fees on the Budhist temples. The title "sin-sze" (believer) was in such cases appended to the name. The corpses are all buried in a sitting crouching posture, with the palms folded in front in the attitude of devotion; and the coffins are consequently of a narrow circular form. We saw one middle-aged Japanese ascend a slight eminence

near to the spot at which we were standing, and enter a little shrine of the Sinto sect hollowed out from the rock. The hill-side resounded with the impassioned tones of his voice, as he poured forth his prayers to the imaginary divinity and unburdened his heart of some heavy grief. In another part, some young person handsomely attired might be seen more quietly engaged in re-lighting the extinguished incense-sticks or replacing the faded garlands with newly-gathered flowers. Generally speaking, the visits to these ancestral tombs appeared to partake less of a funereal mourning than of a holiday recreation; and the beauties of the scenery were calculated rather to excite in a Japanese mind associations of light-hearted joy than of depressing grief.

The secluded Chinese community who reside in Nagasaki compose a trading guild and factory, subjected for ages to all the past vexatious restrictions experienced by the Dutch. Amounting generally to a few hundred persons, a large number die at a distance from their father-land, and their graves occupy a considerable space in the rear of our dwelling. Their mode of sepulture however is different from the Japanese. The corpse is buried in a coffin of the usual shape, in which the body is stretched at full length, and their graves resemble the ordinary tombs of a European cemetery. They are generally covered with a kind of stucco or fine mortar, with head-stones elaborately gilded and inscribed with the names of the deceased, the district of China to which they belonged, and the Chinese Imperial dynasty during

which they lived. Both Japanese and Chinese tombs are alike inscribed with the ordinary characters of the written Chinese language. The wealthier Chinese who die in Japan are accustomed to be borne in their coffins to lie in a temple, until a junk takes its departure on its return to China, and the opportunity is afforded of sending back the body to be deposited in their native soil.

In the afternoon we passed through one of the temple-squares lying at the foot of our hill, and had some difficulty in stemming the current of a popular crowd flowing in the opposite direction to that in which we were proceeding. The throng was occasioned by a great Budhist festival celebrated at this season, during which the temples of a particular Budhist sect are kept open day and night for continuous services and orations from the priesthood. For eight days the neighbouring streets were decorated with flags by day and illuminated with transparent emblems in the night commemorative of some Budhist saint who 500 years ago went on a pilgrimage to India, and on his return became the founder of the temple and the author of a new Budhist sect. During this Budhist "octave" the neighbouring inhabitants, who were said to pay little attention to religion at other times, were pervaded with a suddenly revived zeal, and crowded the avenues and approaches to the temple-shrines. The sect of Budhism which attracted the attention of the multitude and enjoyed a brief sunshine of popular favour, seemed to be a liberalised form of

Budhistic asceticism, and dispensed with the necessity of celibacy in the priesthood, who were permitted to marry wives, to eat flesh, to drink wine, and in various ways to depart from the rigid laws usually imposed on the monastic institutions. In the principal temple nearly a thousand people were seated on the floor in a half kneeling, half sitting posture, and listening in apparent devotion of manner to half a dozen priests in a monotonous low voice intoning the Budhist liturgy. From time to time new worshippers entered, prostrated themselves with their head to the ground, and joined in the hurried repetition of sounds. Occasionally copper coins or small iron-cash were thrown over the heads of the congregation and scattered on the floor, to be subsequently swept together and gathered into the temple-treasury. A priest also sometimes threaded his way between the closely-packed rows of people on their knees, holding out a little bag suspended from the top of a rod for the reception of their gifts. On all the pillars wooden alms-boxes were fixed, with apertures into which the offerings of the faithful might be dropped, securely chained to the post and duly guarded with lock and key. Occasionally some person exceeding in intensity of feeling his other fellow-worshippers, renewed his bodily prostrations and gave vent to some audibly expressed groanings and sighs. Two or three men and a woman were engaged in smoking tobacco in the outer part of the crowd while ostensibly kneeling on the ground; but the generality of the people observed

a strict propriety of appearances. About a dozen priests performed the service and alternated their parts in the recitation. They were variously decorated with robes of different colour; and there appeared to be a gradation of rank among their members.

After a quarter of an hour the presiding priest, seated in the usual posture on his knees with the calves of his legs turned up beneath and forming a natural cushion and seat on the floor, commenced his harangue to the crowd. Robed in a silk vestment of pure white, with his entire head clean shaven, and wearing a rich purple hood over his shoulders, he first reverently closed his eyes in prayer, and composed himself for the delivery of his address. He was a middle-aged man of prepossessing looks and with an air of intelligence and self-respect, enjoying a high repute as a Budhist preacher among the ecclesiastical fraternities of the city. Raised on a high central platform, he commenced in slowly articulated tones, passing on to a more rapid style and at last rising to a fervour of impassioned utterance. The subject of the oration we were of course unable to ascertain in detail; and were forced to be content with the general information that it was a highly elaborated panegyric on the glories of Budhism and the special virtues of the saint. From time to time the whole assemblage joined in responsive prayer with closed eyes and folded hands, bending to the ground, and apparently carried away with the earnest appeals of the preacher. Among all the scenes

which I ever witnessed, I seldom beheld in a pagan country an assemblage of native worshippers so nearly approaching the appearance of a Christian assembly and the details of an ordinary Christian service. If a European visitor suddenly brought into the vicinity of such a scene had been led to expect the sight of native Christian worship, he might have mistaken the true character of the religious spectacle before him, and have remained some minutes before making the discovery of its real nature. No one could look on that scene of ignorant devotees without an affecting sense of the spiritual darkness in which this benighted multitude now lies, and without the encouraging hope that when Japan shall obey the universal decree of the Almighty making the progress of Christ's religion co-extensive with the prevalence of that taint of human sin and woe for which it is the divinely-appointed and predicted remedy,—her interesting and earnest-minded population, made willing in the day of God's power, will embrace the gospel of Christ with no common ardour, and furnish her full proportion of confessors and martyrs to the church of Christ.

Although the female portion of the assembly were more conspicuous for their zeal and devotion than the men, it must nevertheless be allowed that the male population of Japan appear generally exempt from that insincere, heartless and unimpressible scepticism, which prevails in China and renders the Chinese on the one hand indifferent to their own superstitions,

and on the other too generally apathetic to the claims of the true religion. The Budhist priests too belong to a relatively higher social class in Japan, and receive a fair amount of respect from the gentry and higher ranks, as well as from the poorer people. I have frequently seen even the higher class of two-sworded officials greeting with a bow almost to the ground a priest as he passed in the streets. Occasionally also I noticed a Japanese officer passing along one of the streets of the city in which the temples were more than ordinarily numerous, and stopping for a few moments before the outer entrance to each temple-court, in order to fold his hands in an attitude of respect and bow reverently towards the ground as he turned his face in the direction of the sacred locality. This act of devoutness was afterwards placed in a somewhat different light to that in which it first struck my mind. It is said that the local gentry adopt on the new-moon holiday this mode of doing reverence to the temple-shrines by bowing at a respectful distance from the threshold, as a compromise for the actual visit within the temple exacted from faithful Budhists by the prescriptive etiquette of Budhism. Probably it partook of the more vague and spontaneous respect paid by ordinary Romanists in bowing towards the altar, or by Protestants in uncovering the head on entering a sacred edifice.

During the next day or two, I frequently renewed my visits to the outlying parts of the city, and explored the various temples of the eight Budhist

sects*, which exist at Nagasaki. On each day we found the same throngs of people crowding the temple below, and commemorating the special holiday which has been before described. The same renowned preacher, with sacred vestments changed on each day, and attended by a number of subordinates similarly arrayed, was still to be seen haranguing the attentive and ever-increasing multitude. Temporary booths were erected in the outer court to accommodate the surplus congregation; and idols were set up for the occasion, before which the people worshipped. Two lay Budhists seemed particularly devout in their prostrations before a large gaudily-painted paper dragon. Lanterns with sacred devices were suspended across the neighbouring streets; and tall pillars of paper on wooden frames and illuminated within, displayed in conspicuous writing a notice to the people of the services which were being held. Sign-posts pointing in the right direction to the favoured temple, abounded at every corner and turn of the streets.

A Japanese layman of our acquaintance meeting

* The names of the eight sects or orders of Budhist priests are as follows, according to the information supplied to me by a native acquaintance at Kanagawa :—

1. Tendai.
2. Shinngong.
3. Dzen.
4. Oöbaku.
5. Jiodo.
6. Hokki.
7. Ikko. This sect allows marriage to its priests.
8. Nichiren shiu.

The word *shiu, shu,* or *ju* is generally placed after the proper name designating each sect.

us in our descent through the temple-court, took an opportunity of calling us aside, and whispered to us the great inconvenience occasioned by the pony which I was riding, to the people assembling in the crowded thoroughfare to the sacred building. He begged that we would oblige them by riding down the hill through a less frequented range of temples until the festival and its crowds were ended. We gladly took the opportunity of complying with his request, and begged him to convey to his friends our regret at having inadvertently caused any inconvenience to the priests. This Japanese gentleman was an old acquaintance of my American companion; and lately afforded him a substantial service by acting as a friend in need. My host was robbed of a parcel of Japanese silver coins amounting to the value of thirty dollars; and being unable to detect the thief, called in the aid of his native friend. The latter took up the matter in an earnest spirit, and went to work with all the practised skill and ingenuity of a detective. He spent some little time in investigating the recent expenditure of the natives about our temple; and at last discovering that the Japanese servant of a missionary colleague was making extravagant purchases of native luxuries and otherwise showing indications of a fast mode of life, he suddenly seized upon the culprit and turned a deaf ear to his indignant denials. By main force he had him stripped to nudity; and at length drawing forth from his interior garments a secreted sum of money, he brought him to a confession. By a species of Lynch-law often practised in

a land where the forms of justice are sometimes slow, and willingly endured by a criminal under a code of laws visiting such offences with a more than Draconic severity of punishment, — the thief was bound and mercilessly beaten by our Japanese acquaintance, acting in the threefold capacity of police-detective, judge and executioner; and the stolen property was duly returned to its lawful owner.

CHAP. IV.

RELIGIONS OF JAPAN.

VISIT TO A SINTO TEMPLE.—LEADING RELIGIONS IN JAPAN.—TOLERANT SPIRIT OF GOVERNMENT.—SOOTO, OR CONFUCIAN MORALISTS.—SINTOISM.—SUN-GODDESS.—THE "KAMI."—SINTO PRIESTS.—INTERIOR OF TEMPLE.—SACRED MIRROR.—NATIVE WORSHIPPERS.—JUVENILE PASTIMES.—SINTOISM AND BUDHISM CONTRASTED.—THEIR MUTUAL ASSIMILATION IN JAPAN.—SYNCRETISTS.—METEMPSYCHOSIS.—UNDERLYING TRUTH OF A FUTURE STATE.—GUESSES OF UNENLIGHTENED HEATHEN.—ROMAN CATHOLIC AND BUDHIST RESEMBLANCES.—RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.

Our walk was extended along a street occupied for half a mile on one side by an uninterrupted succession of temples, and hence generally called by us "Temple-street." It lay along the lower edge of the hill which flanks the eastern portion of the city. We diverged thence into a series of streets leading to the northern end of the city; and at every turn of the thoroughfares the well-wooded summits of the hills and the rich foliage of the landscape continually presented a most beautiful panorama of rustic beauty in the very centres of population and commerce.

We arrived at a stone bridge crossing a mountain-torrent, which ran through the city and turned in its course some water-wheels of mills for grinding corn. A few Japanese gentry, and occasionally one or two priests were to be seen fishing in the stream and whipping its surface with a fly-rod, with which

every second or third minute they succeeded in capturing a small kind of fish resembling a roach.

At the foot of this bridge lay the entrance to one of the principal temples of the Sinto religion; and a description of its interior may serve as a general representation of the worship of this form of superstition, which has been denominated the national religion of Japan.

Although from time to time various new forms of superstitious error have arisen in Japan, it may be correctly stated that in the present age there are but two leading religions which exercise any wide-spread ascendency over the national mind: viz. the primitive religion of *Sinto*, and its comparatively modern rival of exotic growth—the religion of *Budh*.

The only other creed which exercises any perceptible influence is the doctrine of the Confucian sages, commonly termed *Sooto*—"the way or method of the philosophers," and comprising the general system received among the literati of the Chinese empire. The moral maxims of Confucius are more a code of political ethics than of religious doctrine; and, as expounded by the Chinese materialists of the Sung dynasty, they recognise no existence of a supreme moral governor of the universe beyond a mere *anima mundi*, an universal spirit, soul or power, animating all things, and pervading external nature. This is the atheistic creed of a large portion of the Chinese literati, and appears to be a deterioration from the comparatively purer tenets of more ancient times. This politico-religious system of the Confucian phi-

losophy has gained a wide influence in Japan; but can hardly be numbered among the *religions* of the country strictly so called. Sintoism and Budhism are the only two influential systems of religious belief according to the general sense of the term.

Religious animosity or rivalry in the European sense of the word hardly exists between these two opposite forms of belief. Both systems continue side by side, mutually influencing and influenced by the other. The government views with indifference the prevalence of various sects, and in a spirit of latitudinarian liberality treats them all with an impartial rule. Liberty of conscience in matters of religion appears to be the national policy; and only when the institutions of the country are endangered and its political fears are aroused, does the government of Japan abandon the strict line of non-intervention with the religious belief of its subjects. An old chronicler of the Roman Catholic missions relates the incident of a petition being presented to the Emperor Nobanan by the Budhists, praying for the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries of old, when His Majesty put to them the question, "How many religions are there in Japan?" "Thirty-five" was the reply. "Well then," continued the monarch, "we may easily bear a thirty-sixth: let the strangers dwell in peace." Even the Chinese temples in Nagasaki contain tutelary divinities of their own; and the popular idols peculiar to each district in China are transferred and tolerated without scruple on the soil of Japan. Christianity alone has incurred the unre-

lenting hostility of the Japanese rulers and is proscribed by the severest penalties of law. In the history of Roman Catholic missions in their country and of former religious civil wars, they deem themselves to have a justification and a valid excuse. Even in this case their fears appear to partake more of a political than a religious character.

In ages long anterior to historical records the people of Japan appear to have held an elementary form of supernatural belief and to have possessed a primitive national religion of their own. Amid their wild vague traditions of cosmogony there are a few dim obscurely-shadowed intimations of a Supreme Being now lost in remote mythology and ancestral legends. The Japanese term for this religion is *Kami-no-Mitsi*, "the way of the Kami." It has been rendered into Chinese by the two characters *shin-taou*, "the path of the *shin*," the term employed in China for designating the popular demigods and false divinities of the country. The words *shin-taou* have been slightly modified in their transference into the language of Japan, and are pronounced "*sin-to*," although everywhere written in the temples in the commonly prevailing form of Chinese character. These terms contain in themselves the chief characteristics of the religion in the prominent regard and reverential worship given to the *Kami*, the popular demigods and canonised heroes of the country. The title *Kami* was originally given to the seven mythological personages who figure in the earliest ages of their history as the celestial gods who composed the first

Imperial dynasty. It was also conferred on the five terrestrial gods who ruled in the second dynasty. It was in a pre-eminent sense given also to the whole race of succeeding monarchs who ruled over the empire, and who now have their lineal representative in the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Emperor, at the sacred capital, Miako. In the person of this semi-divine personage all the functions of deity are supposed to centre by virtue of his direct descent from *Ten-sio dai-sin*, the great Sun-goddess, the first and chief of the gods, and the great object of Sinto worship and belief. In every age additions are made to the number of the *Kami;* and every patriot, hero, warrior or benefactor of the race, who by warlike deeds, superior sanctity, alms-giving or repute for miraculous deeds, has earned a place in the memory of his fellow-countrymen, is exalted by the Ecclesiastical Emperor to the rank of a *Kami*, and undergoes a regular apotheosis and canonisation at his death. In addition to these meritorious saints and heroes of the popular superstition, special *Kami* or demigods are supposed to preside over the respective elements and various departments of nature. Each district and neighbourhood possesses also its patron-saint ; and hence it has come to pass that the Sinto religion is in a peculiar manner "the way of the *Kami*," and abounds with shrines erected to the popular divinities of the earth and water, the sea, the sky and the mountains, peopling every nook and corner with the objects of idolatrous worship, and teaching the common people to find a god in every

place.* The temples of the Sinto worship are called *Mia*, and are ordinarily situated on little elevated spots in retired localities, surrounded by groves and coppices of shrubs, and often approached by an avenue of trees. The Budhist temples are distinguished by the name of *Tera*.

The great "Sun-goddess" at the present time seems to be the principal object of divine adoration to the multitude. It is to her alone that supreme worship is paid; and the various subordinate *Kami* are regarded in the light of mediators and angels. The simple furniture of a Sinto temple consists of a mirror occupying a conspicuous place on the altar, and regarded as an emblem of the purity which is needed in true worshippers. No idol or image is visible within the sacred grating; and a few written sentences alone are inscribed above and around.

The Sinto temple which we now visited was called *Dai-jing Gu*, "Temple of the great god (or spirit)," and also *Teen Sho Dai-jing Gu*, "Temple of the heaven-enlightening great god." We passed into the temple-court under a gateway or arch peculiar to the temples in this country, consisting of two solid posts about twenty feet high, generally painted of a red colour, and surmounted by two cross beams of similarly solid material at a yard's interval from each other. The extremities of the cross beams project sideways with a slight curve; and the whole forms the usual sign of approach to consecrated ground.

* An educated Japanese, who was questioned in my presence as to the number of their deities or demigods (Kami), replied in round numbers that they amounted to a "million."

On the left hand of the spacious open court lay a few neat-looking houses, which served as dwellings for the priests and their families. The sacerdotal class in the Sinto religion are free from the vows of celibacy and permitted to mingle without restraint in the usual business of secular life. Their wives are recognised as priestesses, and have peculiar duties assigned to them. Supported by the eleemosynary offerings of the devout and the revenues of the temple endowment, they are able to pass a life of moderate affluence and to exercise the duties of a frugal hospitality. From the wooden archway already described a festoon of slips of white paper and pieces of straw was hung across the way. In the middle of the paved court there was an obelisk-like structure of granite resembling a lamp-pedestal on a large scale, and forming a handsome pillar about eight feet in height. These pillars usually stand on a basement of ascending stone steps, and have a small curved branching roof at the top sheltering a lantern-shaped box or receptacle with circular openings on four sides in which the sacred fire was preserved in olden times. They often exhibit signs of architectural taste in their form and decoration, and are usually inscribed with Chinese characters denoting the "eternally resplendent lamp." This granite lantern is a conspicuous and characteristic object in such localities, and is not exclusively confined to the Sinto temples. Like the red wooden archways before mentioned, they seem to resemble the cross in European countries, and to be appendages to the temple precincts of every native

religious sect in Japan. About fifty yards further on lay what appeared to be the principal shrine of the establishment; and there in the inner recess of a dark room, carefully separated by a screen of palisades, the "holy of holies" was supposed to exist. On the interior altar no image was visible; all was silent, dark and mysterious. In the centre of the outer room the worshipper was required to kneel before the symbolical bright metal disk a foot in diameter, and a corresponding one of a dusky red colour representing the sun suspended above his head, with the titles of the great "Sun-goddess" emblazoned on the sides. We had not been long at the spot when an elderly gentleman approached to perform his devotions. He first took hold of the handle of bell-rope suspended from the roof in the centre of the outer room, and commenced ringing an old cracked bell which gave forth jingling and most discordant sounds. He then sat on the matted ground in the usual squatting posture with his legs doubled up under his seat and his heels and toes projecting from behind. He gave two loud clappings with the palms of his hands and commenced muttering a half-audible form of prayer. Occasionally he rose upright on his knees and renewed the clapping of his hands, falling back into the sitting posture and repeating his devotions with occasional bending of his forehead to the ground. After a silent prayer and renewed prostrations, in about five minutes he rose from his knees and entered into conversation with us. Before he had concluded his prayer a second gentleman

from the city entered, and placed himself in the usual half sitting, half kneeling posture at the side of the earlier worshipper. They turned to each other with bows and salutations, and paid the usual marks of respect, while the former gentleman seemed to be in no way discomposed by the interruption of his devotions, or disconcerted by any sense of intrusion in having his prayers to the goddess disturbed by the interchange of compliments between himself and his fellow-devotee. They each continued their low prostrations before the large polished metal disk, which served as the mirror-emblem of the deity; and on concluding their prayer passed with a quick transition to diversions of a more secular kind. They were very willing to supply information respecting the Sinto temples and the nature of the service in which they had engaged, explaining that the ringing of the bell and the loud clapping of their hands were intended to arouse the goddess and to awaken her attention to the prayers of her worshippers. One of them in reply to our question said that they had no regularly appointed number or time of temple services which they were enjoined to attend, but that each man followed in this particular the promptings of his own inclination. The elder man volunteered the statement that he himself ordinarily visited the temple four or five times in each month. They afterwards accompanied us into an inner portion of the temple court extending a hundred yards further, and surrounded by a wall against which were placed a number of miniature red-coloured wooden archways

such as have been described as marking a sacred entrance, and sent to this temple as offerings from individuals supposed to have received some marked favour and blessing from the gods. In the centre of the spacious court there was an enclosed area leading by a flight of steps to a higher and more sacred shrine, into which none but the priests were permitted to enter, and from which lay visitors were excluded. A few low pillars were placed around the court, surmounted by a rude stone apparently the symbolical representative of some divinity. Large chests and alms-boxes were scattered over every portion of the establishment, chained to the pillar and guarded by massive locks.

As we returned to the outer court and the vicinity of the principal scene of worship, we had an opportunity of observing a curious specimen of the manners of the juvenile population. On the very spot in which the two senior Japanese had recently prostrated themselves before their chief deity, a number of boys had collected themselves in a group and proceeded to indulge in the boisterous pastimes of a play-ground. Close to the very shrine they danced, leaped, wrestled, threw somersets in the air, and shook the roof with their merry laughter, as they tripped each other up by the heels and exulted in any one of their number coming down with a more than commonly heavy fall on the ground. Not even the sacred bell was spared. Seizing the bell-rope they vied with each other in trying to climb or pull themselves by the hand to the ceiling, and in converting the whole place

into a gymnasium. The elder men looked on, and no one interfered with their boisterous games, it not being apparently considered irreverent or undevout to continue their playful amusements in such a spot.

I was informed that in this respect the Budhists are more strict in preventing such uproarious pastimes in their sacred places; although, on a subsequent occasion, I witnessed an approximation to the same noisy merriment even in a Budhist temple. Budhism has the character of being a more gloomy and austere religion than the Sinto creed. The former professes to regard sorrow as inseparable from existence, to condemn emotional feeling as the exhibition of the inferior part of human nature, to view moral excellence as consisting in abstraction from the busy world around, and to place the only ultimate escape from moral evil in the absorption of personal identity into the Deity,—or, in other words, in annihilation of all separate existence for each soul. The adherents of Sintoism on the other hand appear to make happiness in the enjoyment of the present world the great object of aim, taking a more cheerful view of human life, and preferring to contemplate the brighter side of mundane affairs. Turning their religious festivals into occasions of holiday, they regard sorrow and distress as an unfit disposition of mind in which to approach the gods. Believing their divinities to be susceptible of the joys and sorrows of the lower world, they profess the desire of relieving them from the contemplation of human misery, and refrain from disturbing the divine

mind by obtruding upon their vision the spectacle of pain and misery.

It is often hard to distinguish at first sight the temples of the two religions from a hasty and cursory view of the exterior. The true facts of the case appear to be that Budhism, transplanted from China and Corea into Japan in the sixth century after Christ, has here easily assimilated and adapted itself to the more ancient forms of popular belief. A national hero has often been adopted into the Budhist pantheon in Japan; and the Bonzes have adroitly contrived to make a profitable investment in pandering to the most ancient superstitions of the country. They have peopled heaven with Japanese saints, and found a niche in every Budhist temple for idols universally worshipped by the multitude and representing some deified hero of Japan, who lived and died many ages before Budhism had penetrated the country.

Sintoism also has more than gone halfway in meeting the friendly advances of the more modern superstition. The distinction between the two is generally more perceptible in the vestments of the priests than in any well-defined notions of doctrinal difference in the minds of the Japanese people at large. Sectarianism exists not beyond the circle of the ecclesiastical societies; and the laity appear to regard every development of their native superstitions with equal favour and indifference in turn.*

* Since these remarks were written I have met with the following statement of Kaempfer (Book III. ch. ii.), which conveys a summary view of the religious sects of the Japanese, and

After these preliminary statements it will easily be understood how a belief in the transmigration of spirits and the corollary articles of the Budhistic

explains some facts connected with the mutual assimilation of Sintoism and Budhism in Japan.

"The whole *Sintos'* religion is so mean and simple, that besides a heap of fabulous and romantic stories of their gods, demi-gods and heroes, inconsistent with reason and common sense, their divines have nothing, neither in their sacred books nor by tradition, wherewithal to satisfy the inquiries of curious persons, about the nature and essence of their gods, about their power and government, about the future state of our soul, and such other essential points, whereof other heathen systems are not altogether silent. For this reason it was, that when the foreign pagan *Budsdo* (Budhist) religion came to be introduced in *Japan*, it spread not only quickly, and with surprising success, but soon occasioned a difference and schism even between those who remained constant and faithful to the religion of their ancestors, by giving birth to two sects, which the Sintoists are now divided into. The first of these sects is called *Juitz*. The orthodox adherents of this continued so firm and constant in the religion and customs of their ancestors, that they would not yield in any the least point, how insignificant soever. But they are so very inconsiderable in number, that the *Canusis* or priests themselves make up the best part. The other sect is that of the *Riobus*. These are a sort of Syncretists, who for their own satisfaction, and for the sake of a more extensive knowledge in religious matters, particularly with regard to the future state of our souls, endeavoured to reconcile, if possible, the foreign pagan religion with that of their ancestors. In order to this, they suppose that the soul of *Amida*, whom the *Budhists* adore as their saviour, dwelt by transmigration in the greatest of their gods, *Ten Sio Dai Sin*, the essence, as they call him, of light and sun. Most *Sintoists* confess themselves to this sect. Even the *Dairi*, or the ecclesiastical hereditary Emperor's whole court, perhaps sensible enough of the falsity and inconsistencies of the religion which they profess, and convinced how poor and weak their arguments are whereby they endeavour to support the almost divine majesty and holiness which their master arrogates to himself, seem to incline to this Syncretism. Nay, they have

creed have obtained a general currency in the country and universal ascendency over the popular mind. Both in China and in Japan and throughout all the

shown not long ago that they are no great enemies to the foreign pagan worship; for they conferred the archbishopric, and the two bishoprics of the *Ikosiu*, the richest and most numerous sect of the Budhists, upon princes of the imperial blood. The secular monarch professes the religion of his forefathers, and pays his respects and duty once a year to the *Mikado*, though at present not in person, as was done formerly, but by a solemn embassy and rich presents. He visits in person the tombs of his imperial predecessors, and frequents also the chief temples and religious houses where they are worshipped. When I was in *Japan* myself, two stately temples were built by order of the secular monarch in honour of the Chinese philosopher *Koosju*, or, as we call him, *Confucius*, whose philosophy they believe was communicated to him immediately from heaven, which same opinion the Greeks formerly had of the philosophy of *Socrates*. One thing remains worth observing, which is, that many, and perhaps the greatest part of those who in their lifetime constantly professed the *Sintos'* religion, and even some of the *Sootos* or Moralists, recommend their souls on their death-bed to the care of the Budhist clergy, desiring that the *Namanda* might be sung for them, and their bodies burnt and buried after the manner of the *Budhists*. The adherents of the *Sintos'* religion do not believe the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, although almost universally received by the eastern nations. However, they abstain from killing and eating of those beasts which are serviceable to mankind, thinking it an act of cruelty and ungratefulness. They believe that the souls, after their departure from the bodies, transmigrate to a place of happiness seated just beneath the thirty-three heavens and dwelling-places of their gods, which on this account they call *Takamanofarra*, which signifies *high and sub-celestial fields;* that the souls of those who have led a good life in this world are admitted without delay, but that the souls of the bad and impious are denied entrance, and condemned to err, with a time sufficient to expiate their crimes. This is all they know of a future state of bliss. But besides these Elysian fields, these stations of happiness, they admit no hell, no places of torment, no Cimmerian darkness, no

numerous oriental regions over which this wide-spread form of superstition extends, the doctrine of a metempsychosis is the only deep-rooted principle of an idolater's creed, supplying to him a few dim glimmerings of the underlying truth of a future state of rewards and punishments. God has not left himself without witness in the souls of the heathen. "The work of the law written in their hearts" exerts its power on behalf of truth, "their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." The various fictions of an idolater's belief, as the transmigration of the soul and the various stages of its future existence in the higher and more perfect, or in the lower and more debased classes of animals—the dogma of a human spirit receiving hereafter in the form of a horse, a dog, a reptile or a man, an apportionment of punishment for the sins or of reward for the virtues

unfortunate state attending our souls in a world to come. Nor do they know of any other devil but that which they suppose to animate the fox, a very mischievous animal in this country, and so much dreaded that some are of opinion that the impious, after their death, are transformed into foxes, which their priests call *Ma*, that is, evil spirits.

"The chief points of the Sintos' religion (and those the observation whereof, its adherents believe, makes them agreeable to the gods, and worthy to obtain from their divine mercy an immediate admission into the stations of happiness after their death, or, what is more commonly aimed at, a train of temporal blessings in this life), are,—1st. The inward purity of the heart. 2nd. A religious abstinence from whatever makes a man impure. 3rd. A diligent observation of the solemn festival and holy days. 4. Pilgrimages to the holy places at *Isic*. To which by some very religious people is added, 5. Chastising and mortifying their bodies."

of the present life—are all but illustrations of the same great moral law—an originally-prevailing though subsequently well-nigh obliterated conviction of the existence of a great Almighty Lawgiver and Judge—an indefinite expectation of a judgment to come. These delusive hopes and expectations of the unenlightened heathen are but the feeble vague guesses of unassisted nature, guiding them to some theory of belief or some invention of superstition by which they may correct the anomalies of prospering crime in the world, and holding out to the votaries of false religions some vindication of divine justice in the punishment of the wicked.

The religion of a Japanese may be summed up as consisting in attendance upon the temples and the observance of festival-days. With the Sintoists he has some vague notions of merit in the preservation of pure fire in the family-shrine, in an imaginary purity of soul, in pilgrimages, in periodical prayers, in prostrations, in contributions to the alms-box in the temples, and in worshipping the *Kami*. Abstinence from animal food is also a meritorious act in the eyes of the people, and a duty especially incumbent on the priesthood. But this is probably a principle of political economy aiming at the conservation of the species of animals most useful for beasts of burden and tillage of the soil, rather than a religious principle of action.

With the rites of the Budhists an ordinary Japanese is equally familiar and at home. All religious

observances possess equal favour in his eyes, which afford a sense of self-righteous merit or promise him a festive holiday. The detailed workings of the system have a marked counterpart among the populations of continental Europe. The various particulars of Budhistic worship have often produced a strange sense of resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. The similarity between the two systems has often been a stumbling-block to a European visitor, and long ago bewildered and distressed the ancient Jesuit and Dominican missionaries to Japan. The interior of a Budhist temple suggests many points of identity with the gorgeous forms and ritual of the Roman Catholic system. Prayers in an unknown Indian tongue—the fumes of incense-sticks—the burning candles on the altar-table—the tinkling of bells—the shaved head and flowing vestments of the priesthood—the processions in the temples—the existence of monasteries and nunneries—the vow of celibacy—the merit of fastings and of pilgrimages to the more renowned and sacred localities of the country—the vain repetition of the same sentence and counting their prayers with a rosary of beads—the institution of an itinerant mendicant order of priests—and, above all, the lucrative trading in the superstitious fears of the vulgar, and the all-prevalent custom of prayers and intercessions for departed souls imprisoned in the gloomy horrors and tortures of purgatory—form a strange combination and collection of undesigned coincidences of likeness, well calculated to embarrass

the first emissaries of the Papacy to this country, and to impress every impartial and unprejudiced spectator with a conviction of their having originated in the independent and mutual affinities of error.

Ordinary beggars form a spectacle by no means uncommon in Japan. They beset the stairs leading to the temples, and are very importunate in their solicitations of alms from the passing crowd. The Japanese of our acquaintance discouraged us from affording relief even to the sick and diseased, the halt and maimed, the blind and aged, who frequently threw themselves in our way. They dissuaded us from giving eleemosynary relief by the assertion that there was no such thing as pauperism in Japan,—that a feeling of clanship and the duties of family-relationship were a sufficient safeguard against the prevalence of real destitution and want,—that helpless strangers overtaken with disaster or afflicted with sickness at a distance from their homes are immediately provided for by the magistrates and sent back at the public expense to their native districts,—and that consequently every beggar in the public streets might reasonably be suspected as being an idle, worthless or dishonest man.

Only one class of mendicants seems to find favour with the Japanese. These consist of companies of begging priests perambulating the streets, and by din of voice and tinkling of bells exacting a gift from every shop and dwelling which they pass. Occasionally a long string of these bare-shaven itinerants exceeding twenty in number, might be seen chaunting a melan-

choly monotonous dirge-like tune, each carrying a lacquered vessel for the customary dole of rice, shaking a pole covered with little bells to attract attention to their demands, and levying their contributions on every house in the neighbourhood. Sometimes we met a couple of these priests wearing a straw hat and accoutred in a light travelling dress, acting in partnership; one bearing on his back a light paper shrine about a yard high, on which an idol was seated, while the other collected alms and afterwards divided the collection. The *Yammabos* or "mountain-soldiers"—a class of austere hermits—are the most noted of this class of mendicant vagabonds and religious impostors, who live upon the superstitions of the ignorant populace and their own lying assumptions of fictitious merit and miraculous wonders.

To another class of beggars whom I frequently observed in the streets it is more difficult to assign their real position and character. A solitary musician might sometimes be seen clad in the humblest garb and wearing a straw-plaited hat, which in the form of a bee-hive reached down to his neck and concealed his features. Only a few small slender openings in the pattern of the plait enabled the wearer to view the external world through his visor and to thread his way from house to house. Playing a slow mournful tune on a flute, he passed tardily and wearisomely along his route, abstaining from all importunate demands and contentedly receiving only such alms as spontaneously were dropped into his suspended bag in front. An

obscure mystery hangs over the real character of these men. Common rumour assigns them as belonging to the class of disgraced officers who having incurred degradation and punishment by the ruling powers are condemned to live upon the alms of the charitable, with the permission or prescriptive custom of veiling their face and concealing their countenance from the rude gaze of their possible acquaintances in the passing throng.

CHAP. V.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF NAGASAKI.

VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF NAGASAKI.—CONVERSATION.— NATIVE REPORTERS. — SYSTEM OF DUALISM.— SPIES. — DIFFICULTIES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. — INDEPENDENCE OF FOREIGN PRODUCTS. — OBSTRUCTIONS TO GROWTH OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.—SUNDAY SERVICES FOR EUROPEANS. — "TEMPLE OF GREAT VIRTUE."

NAGASAKI is one of the five imperial cities of Japan, unincluded in the territory of any of the vassal princes and feudal lords of the soil, among whom the whole country is divided and to whom the people in each district are subjected according to the principles of the most absolute and despotic form of government. The imperial cities are governed by officers specially delegated from the Secular Emperor and responsible to the imperial Court at Yeddo. He enjoys a peculiar jurisdiction over these cities; and their revenue thus forms an appanage of the monarch of Japan. This local exemption of Nagasaki from the authority of the surrounding territorial princes is often a source of jealousy and occasionally a ground of dispute to the petty despots of the adjoining districts. The governor of Nagasaki holds his appointment direct from the central imperial authority; and on account of the recurrence of grave matters of foreign diplomacy and the danger of local complications with

European nations, this post is usually filled by some officer in whose administrative skill great confidence is reposed.

One of my earliest excursions into the city was a visit of ceremony paid in company with the British Consul to the governor of Nagasaki. The nature of my office had been previously explained to him, and my ministrations among the foreign community on the Sunday had doubtless been duly announced by native spies. The proposed object of the visit was to give me an opportunity of paying my personal respects to the constituted authorities of the city. The prevalent rules of native politeness and their desire to cultivate friendly relations with foreign officials, doubtless influenced them in naming a day for the interview and inviting us to a Japanese repast. Accordingly the British Consul, the consular surgeon and myself, after crossing in a boat over a part of the harbour and landing on the north-eastern side of the bay, proceeded on small Japanese horses through a few streets, and at length arrived before what must in courtesy only be called the palace of the governor. We passed into an outer court surrounded with a few sheds and outhouses, some of them stored with lumber and none of them affording signs of marked affluence or wealth. At the entrance of an outer room the governor and the two vice-governors received us with due formality and preceded us into the inner refection-room. Two rows of tables extended down the length of the room; and probably in order to avoid all errors

of etiquette in the adjustment of our respective ranks, the three highest native officials were placed at one table immediately facing and seated on chairs corresponding with the three foreign guests. Nearly a dozen other two-sworded officials were seated lower down in the room; and only the native interpreters and reporters occupied the usual squatting posture on the ground. In accordance with Japanese custom their sandals were left at the entrance, and they wore only white stockings with a cloven space for the shoe latchet to enter at the side of the great toe. The governor was a man apparently about thirty-five years of age. His two subordinates were men more advanced in life, and probably between fifty and sixty years of age. A collation of tea, hot wine and spirituous liquors with sweet-meats, cakes and fruit, was handed round, and the usual civilities of Japanese hospitality were exchanged.

After a few preliminary compliments an attempt was made to enter upon a conversation; but hereupon great difficulties were experienced. The chief governor was afraid to commit himself by any definite reply on any given subject however trivial or unimportant; and referred to the vice-governor, his official subordinate and spy. He again referred to the third official, himself fulfilling also the duties of deputy, councillor, controller-general and spy. Everything passed through a native interpreter, a young man of intelligent, quick and cunning aspect, who, alternately rising on his knees and bowing to the floor, rendered our English sentences into Japanese,

adding explanations and suggestions of his own, and joining in the laughing tones in which every sentence was repeated. The miserable system of espionage and magisterial dualism rendered each man distrustful of his neighbour; and even the most common-place subject of conversation seemed to excite an anxious sense of danger in their minds. Everything was received with affected peals of laughter. They chuckled and laughed again, and endeavoured with an ill success to assume the manner of persons well at ease. Every question was handed about from one to the other; and then when they had turned it round and round, and surveyed it from every point of view, they commissioned the interpreter to give some vague reply, and thus endeavoured to pursue the even tenor of official non-committal and reserve. The Consul informed me that this is their usual levity of manner, and that the announcement of some great calamity of wide-spread conflagration or swallowing up of a city by an earthquake is introduced with more than ordinary accompaniments of light-heartedness and laughter. Although unwilling to communicate information, they were inquisitive in seeking intelligence respecting foreign places. They asked the amount of the population of Hongkong,— How many stories in height did the English houses contain? would the new foreign dwellings at Nagasaki be built of a similar height? Would not high stories shut out the sea-breeze? Of what materials would the houses and the doors be composed? They remarked that the liability to earthquakes in Japan prevented

the building of lofty solid houses, and mentioned the difficulty of the Japanese government at Yeddo complying with the demand of the Russian government to erect a lofty stone monument sixty feet in height to the memory of the two Russians from their fleet lately assassinated in that neighbourhood. The interpreter stated to us that such a monument would be demolished on the first occasion of their frequent earthquakes.

On our part a few questions were put, but we could with difficulty extort any definite reply. I casually alluded to the fact of my having visited Loochoo ten years ago in a Queen's ship, and inquired whether it was a part of the territory of the Emperor of Japan. In reply they professed to be unable to give me any definite information; they ventured to express their humble opinion that Loochoo formerly belonged to Japan; and then the laughter gave the usual finish to their reply. Were the Loochooans permitted to trade with Japan? They regretted their ignorance and excused their inability to give us the required information. After many parryings and subterfuges, they at last went so far to compromise themselves as to express their belief that the Loochooans were not of pure Japanese origin, but were a mixed race composed of Japanese, Chinese and Formosan descent.

It was not until the close that we noticed the rapid motion of pen with which a native reporter was recording our words and passing with hurried movement from page to page. Every incident of the interview was doubtless made the subject of an official

report, which was soon on its way to Yeddo 700 miles distant. He once turned round and compared notes with a second reporter more retired from view and seated behind the chair of one of the officials; who acted in his turn as a secret watch and spy, and checked by the most precise details the accuracy of the other writer. This system of espionage and checks is a heavy restraint upon the public officers, spreads abroad a universal spirit of mutual distrust, sows the seeds of conspiracy and false accusation broadcast over the land, and operates prejudicially on the national character by fostering a body of hypocrites and spies in every rank of society. The government is indeed by this odious system rendered almost omniscient in the details of official life. But a heavy price is paid in the universal suspicion and heartless treachery which separates man from man.

The remains of the feast were according to Japanese usage afterwards sent to us at our own houses. The three officials accompanied us on our departure to the outer vestibule, and with greetings and low bowings bade us farewell. Their dress in no respect differed from that universally worn by the wealthier classes in the streets. No official costume beyond the wearing of two swords and the family arms embroidered on each man's outer robe, served to distinguish him from any other respectable Japanese whom we met in the streets.

The extension of foreign trade and the increased intercourse with the subjects and representatives of the European and American treaty-powers, form the

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great difficulty of Japanese officials at the present time. Individual Japanese appear to be friendly to foreigners, and to view with favour enlarged opportunities of commercial dealings and pecuniary gain; but the Imperial Government at Yeddo is known to regard with anxiety the encroachments of foreigners, and has been notoriously influenced by fear in making concessions to Europeans. The presence of foreign armaments and fleets in the vicinity of the Japanese waters exerted a heavy pressure in moving the Imperial Court of Yeddo from their prescriptive and traditionary policy of exclusion. They succumbed to a present necessity; but they have not yet been disarmed of their fears of a collision with European powers. If we study closely the present condition of Japan and make due allowances for a nation among whom there prevails a spirit of intelligent inquiry and many of whom have a knowledge of the general history of the progress of British dominion in Hindostan, we shall not be greatly surprised at their adherence to the policy of their isolation and their shutting themselves out from foreign revolutionary influences in the seclusion of their insular independence. Proud in the national traditions of their invincibility by foreign invaders, and enjoying the advantage of one continuous line of natural barriers and defences in the fogs and mists which prevail at all seasons on their coasts, and the tornadoes and typhoons which have wrecked every hostile fleet assailing their native shores, they have never bowed the neck to a foreign yoke and continue to shut them-

selves up in the fancied security and impregnability of their insular position. It is among the great princes and the members of the imperial administration that this jealous exclusiveness more particularly prevails. They remember the former civil wars which convulsed the nation; and they bear in mind that European nations bore their part in aggravating the mischief of civil discord. They know too that the ignorance of the multitude is the only foundation on which the continued stability of their own absolute power and feudal despotism can be based. Extorting from the cultivators of land the greater portion of their agricultural produce, and wringing from the peasantry the hard earnings of their daily toil in order to support the numerous and costly army of their own idle and insolent retainers, the vassal princes of the empire make common cause with the Imperial Court and join in riveting more firmly the chains of oligarchical tyranny on the lower classes of the population. Hence arises a sense of insecurity, a dislike of foreign intercourse, a fear of revolutionary ideas, and a continued persistence in the policy of restriction. The known advantages of foreign commerce are outweighed in the view of most of the Japanese rulers by a consideration of the perils caused thereby to the continuance of their political and social system. There are enlightened and liberal men among the Daimios, the princes and lords of the empire; but the majority see no adequate inducements to undergo the risk of obvious and grave dangers to their continued rule for the sake

of inconsiderable and uncertain benefit to their material wealth. The physical aspect of Japan gives plausibility and countenance to such a view. Possessing a fine climate, a fertile soil, a region of rich mineral wealth, a country teeming with every variety of agricultural produce, a coast indented with magnificent harbours, a land of picturesque landscape beauties, and an industrious population skilful and imitative in improving the productive resources of the country, the empire of Japan contains within her own borders everything needful to supply the wants or to minister to the luxuries of her people. Deeming themselves therefore independent of foreign supplies, and deriving no adequate benefit from the extension of foreign commerce, the rulers of Japan entrench themselves behind their own isolation from the outer world, and reduce to the smallest amount the privileges and concessions of an extended intercourse with the interior of their country. It will be well for foreign governments to remember and make allowances for this public sentiment. The power of the feudal princes is universally felt throughout the empire; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a war against foreigners and a repulsion of European encroachments might revive the dormant military ardour of the nation and unite the whole Japanese race in a war of patriotism against the intruders. In such an event the mountain fastnesses of the interior would afford an impregnable stronghold to their armies; and the history of our English Edwards ineffectually pursuing the Scottish

highland rebels to their mountainous retreats may find its parallel and counterpart in an inglorious and impolitic struggle with the government and people of Japan.

The local government at Nagasaki in their relations to the foreign consuls have the character of being civil, courteous and yet obstructive withal. Foreign intercourse and trade is the great difficulty of Japanese officials, willing to act with friendly urbanity towards foreigners on the one hand, and at the same time unwilling to incur disfavour with the native Imperial Government on the other. They regard the newly-extended commercial intercourse as more troublesome and dangerous than lucrative. The fact is universally apparent that the governing class do not want us in their country; they desire to be left alone in their isolation and (if it be so regarded) their semi-barbarism; and every new blow which drives inward the inserted wedge makes its shock perceptible in the vibrations of alarm through the whole body politic. Many sources of local irritation and misunderstanding occur between the Japanese custom-house and the foreign mercantile residents. At one time the Japanese officials give an arbitrary high conventional value to the native gold and silver coin, in which they compel all transactions of barter to be made, thus depreciating the silver Mexican dollar which forms the general medium of exchange in China and surrounding countries, and proportionably raising the price of every article purchased. At another time they endeavour to limit all foreign trade

to licensed native buyers and sellers, who are known to be mulcted in a per-centage of the moneys received, and to find relief in a necessary addition to the prices charged to foreigners. Sometimes all native boatmen are prohibited from hiring themselves to foreigners except those who bear a written permit from the custom-house. Large stores of Japanese produce are bargained for; and the transaction is at the last moment delayed or frustrated by the withholding of the requisite sanction of the native authorities. Cases of larceny and petty theft are sometimes detected, and treated with lenient indifference by the magistrates. In such circumstances, Europeans of warm temperament and rash judgment sometimes take the law into their own hands; and mutual altercations and embittered feeling may be supposed to survive in the remembrance of the injured parties. The ordinary mercantile classes of the Japanese, if left to themselves, would gladly enlarge their dealings and bring down from the interior districts almost any desired amount of merchandise. The tradesmen and boat-people are in the highest degree friendly; and in no part of the East do foreigners and natives appear (as a general rule) to live together on better and more harmonious terms. The English and American residents speak in uniformly favourable terms of praise of the native disposition and their amicable feelings towards foreigners. The Japanese merchants are represented as more dilatory, undecided and unmethodical in business transactions than their Asiatic neighbours on the continent of China. They consume as many

days in visits and bargainings in disposing of a few hundred dollars' worth of oil or vegetable wax, as the Chinese merchants would occupy in disposing of a million dollars' worth of silk and tea. The truth is that matters political and social, international and commercial, are as yet in an elementary and imperfectly developed state. Impatient haste may mar the promise of a healthier growth. The conduct of Europeans will be the one great element of favourable or unfavourable influence operating on their minds. Integrity, fair dealing, and a respectful conciliatory bearing will do much in breaking down the moral and social barrier which separates the two races. Foreign residents must ever bear in mind that they are strangers and guests among an independent and unconquered people. They must learn to lean less upon the threatened intervention of foreign armaments and the presence of foreign fleets, than upon an improvement in their own demeanour and an exhibition of the courtesies and graces of a Christian life. The British flag flying aloft over any foreign settlement is an ægis of protection and carries with it a moral power in every part of the globe. A British subject or an American citizen bears with him to every land the prestige of his nation's maritime supremacy and strength. But when the plea "Civis Romanus sum" is heard as a ground of immunity and privileged exemption from wrong, let it ever be remembered also that citizenship has its reciprocal duties as well as its prescriptive rights. An overbearing insolent demeanour towards

the native races has been the great bane of European intercourse with aboriginal tribes. It will be a dangerous experiment to press too heavily in this respect on the forbearance of a sensitive vindictive race. Large powers must be vested in the consular representatives of foreign nations for checking the earliest symptoms of a reckless spirit of contemptuous defiance of Japanese prejudices, and controlling the disorderly lawless elements which too often pervade a newly-formed mercantile settlement in the remote countries of the East. Care too must be taken that the individuals selected for consular posts and made the depositaries of such large administrative corrective powers, be themselves men of high moral character, and fitted by their ability and judgment for wielding the authority reposed in them for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen and the protection of the native race.

On Sunday April 15th I held our first public service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, which I was able to continue on each of the five Sundays over which my stay in the city extended. Our congregation consisted of British, American and a few Dutch residents, augmented by officers and seamen from some of the merchant-vessels in port. Our number varied from twenty to forty persons according to the state of the weather. The scene of our little assemblage was a building named *Dai Toku ji*, "the Temple of Great Virtue," being one of a series of Budhist temples forming an extensive monastery on the

summit of a picturesque hill overhanging the general level of the city, and rising by an abrupt acclivity of one hundred feet from the southern suburb occupied by a portion of the foreign residents immediately below. The British Consul and his staff, an officer of Royal Engineers and a few other persons attached to the commissariat or transport service in procuring horses and stores for the expeditionary force in the north of China, were among the attendants at the service. The occasion was one of almost historical interest to our minds,—the first formal gathering of our countrymen for divine worship in this long-exclusive land,—the first instance of an Anglican clergyman and bishop officiating among his fellow-Christians in the territory of Japan, offering up their prayers to the Almighty through that Saviour whose cross had been the material emblem on which the surrounding pagans were taught to trample with hatred and contempt,—and singing the praises of the Redeemer in that same locality which had ever previously resounded with the chauntings of Budhist monks and prayers to false gods. I was assisted generally in reading the lessons by my friend Mr. Williams, who has had the privilege of continuing the Sunday service then inaugurated until the present time. There were present in the congregation not a few young men, trained amid the healthy influences of a Christian home, cast adrift upon the untried moral dangers of an isolated foreign settlement in a pagan land, wandering as sheep without a shepherd in the wilderness, and placed in imminent

danger of making shipwreck of their souls. The Japanese system of licensed brothels as a source of revenue to the government, and the sad undermining of moral principle caused by the facilities of concubinage with native women, have (it is to be feared) combined in producing among a considerable portion of the foreign community a state of dissoluteness exceeded in no part of the East. I write these things in the fearless yet sorrowful candour of truth.

The temple in which our Sunday services were held was occupied at the present time by two English officers and three private soldiers, who were lodged at the request of the Consul in this quarter of the building. It was by their invitation and arrangement that I was enabled to hold divine service in a central position for the foreign residents. The scene of our assembling together was ordinarily used as their dining-room, temporarily converted into a place of worship. Situated in a spacious area at the top of the hill, and connected with a lovely garden on one side abounding in richest flowers and spreading trees, it commanded a fine view of the harbour and the city with the surrounding country. The building itself bore signs of elaborate and expensive decoration in the bright gilding of the Chinese inscriptions and the mother-of-pearl ornaments profusely inlaid on the lacquered material of which the lintel and door-posts of the main entrance were composed. The images removed, the room cleanly swept, and a few foreign articles of domestic furniture introduced, our military friends were comfortably quartered in a salubrious

residence, and the payment of a small monthly rent to the priests rendered all parties superlatively happy and content.

A day or two after our first service, there were indications of Japanese displeasure at this audacious and novel precedent. A native interpreter attached to the local custom-house informed a mercantile friend of my acquaintance that the occurrence would not be suffered to pass unnoticed, and that an official protest was in course of being drawn up for transmission to the British Consul. It appears that the Prince of Satsuma, a neighbouring province bordering on the limits of Nagasaki to the south, possesses an ancient prescriptive right of precedence in claiming this temple lodging as his own. Powerful in extent of territory, enjoying an immense revenue, and possessing the Loochoo Islands as an appanage of his principality, this high provincial potentate had strengthened himself by intermarriages with the imperial family, and enjoyed all the prestige and dignity of an independent sovereign. Holding a higher rank in the empire at large, he disdained to make frequent visits to the city of Nagasaki, where a functionary of inferior rank held a higher local command and took precedence over the proud vassal lords of the neighbouring soil. By beautifying the "Temple of Great Virtue" and laying the priests under a sense of obligation to their munificence, the Princes of Satsuma had established an hereditary claim upon their good offices, and the monastery itself was assigned to them as their peculiar lodging place on the rare occasion of their

public visits to the city. The Prince of Satsuma is largely engaged in foreign enterprise and mercantile speculations on his own account; and for this purpose he has his agents and establishments in different parts of the city. We subsequently discovered that the reported remonstrance was only the officious act of his subordinates jealous for the supposed rights of their chief, and never proceeded so far as to take the shape of an official communication between the local authorities and the Consul. We had the express stipulation of recent treaties on our side permitting the celebration of Christian services among British and Americans; and the fact that our place of assembly was the ordinary dwelling of an individual Englishman sufficiently relieved us from the appearance of any violation of Japanese rights or of outrage upon the native religions. After some loud talking and half-menacing on the part of some officials at the customs, the matter was allowed to drop, and we quietly pursued our weekly course in continuance of the services.

CHAP. VI.

CITY OF NAGASAKI.

LOCAL CHINESE FACTORY AND COMMERCIAL GUILD. — EUROPEAN SAILORS. —OVERDRAWN PICTURES OF JAPANESE CHARACTER BY THUNBERG.— INTEMPERANCE. — SUPERIOR CLEANLINESS OF JAPANESE STREETS. — SEMI-NUDITY OF PEOPLE. — SCENES IN A JAPANESE THOROUGHFARE. — OIL-PAPER COATS. — FREQUENT CONFLAGRATIONS. — QUACK MEDICINES. — MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.—PRIESTLY INCANTATIONS IN SICKNESS.

THE Chinese form no unimportant part of the foreign community in Nagasaki, and are regarded with much dislike by the Japanese. In ancient times there was a free intercourse and unrestricted commerce between the two countries. But the change produced by former European difficulties and civil wars in the policy of the Japanese government towards the Spaniards, Portuguese and Dutch, was extended also to the Chinese mercantile strangers. After the severe edicts against the Christian religion and the prohibition of Christian books, the Chinese were detected importing Roman Catholic publications, and incurred the heavy displeasure of the government. In the year A.D. 1688 they were forcibly confined to a small settlement on the edge of the harbour, and subjected to the same restraints as those endured by the Dutch in the neighbouring scene of their imprisonment in Desima. In the year A.D. 1780 the Chinese trading guild was removed a

couple of hundred yards further back from the harbour to a Budhist monastery lying near the foot of the hill which has already been described as the locality of our Sunday services. Rigidly guarded and watched, the Chinese factory shared with the Dutch the humiliation and inconvenience of a common captivity.

The various European treaties have secured some privileges for those of the Chinese residents who are in any way connected with Europeans and entitled to the benefits of the new system of foreign trade. A Chinese acquaintance from Hongkong, whom for obvious reasons I shall designate with no more distinctive name than the common surname of Mr. Cheung, was often a visitor at my quarters, and supplied me with many details of information respecting the Japanese character, regarded of course from the Chinese point of view.

My Chinese friend gave a decided preference to the habits of cleanliness which pervade a Japanese dwelling over that which prevails in China, asserting that the Chinese custom of small-footed women rendered Chinese wives slow and awkward in their movements, and unable to attend to active household duties with the same effectiveness as their large-footed sisters in Japan. He and the two other Chinese in our own house often discussed in our presence the relative condition of civilisation and morality prevalent respectively in China and in Japan. Even a Chinaman expresses his disgust at some of the customs of the Japanese, which will be noticed in a subsequent portion of my narrative.

On one or two occasions I visited the Chinese guild in their confined factory in the southern suburb. A number of Japanese sentries were standing outside and prevented any communication with the inner part. On seeing an Englishman approach, they gave the signal of warning; and suddenly a number of native officials rushed to the main entrance and closed the postern-gate at the side. No amount of entreaty could induce the guards to relax their strictness. Gradually on receiving our promise not to force an entrance through, they cautiously opened the gate and allowed us to take a brief glimpse of the interior, a mere outer court capable of accommodating only a small proportion of the Chinese settlement. Formerly the Chinese were not allowed to walk into the city; but now they are permitted to stroll about by day on condition of returning to their factory before night. At the present time they amount to about four or five hundred persons, their number being diminished or increased by the departure or return of their junks trading to Japan. The other Chinese who reside outside among the general foreign community attached to European establishments are unincluded in this estimate and reckoned as British subjects or American citizens. They drive a petty trade, underselling foreigners and often successfully competing with them in their dealings with Japanese, through their penurious mode of living and the absence of expensive establishments.

There are at the present time three Chinese junks annually permitted to make a trading voyage to Japan. They are sometimes stated to belong to

Chapoo situated in the Bay of Hangchow and lying intermediate between the consular ports of Shanghae and Ningpo. The more correct statement appears to be that they belong each vessel respectively to the three cities of Soochow, Shanghae and Chapoo, and take their final departure from the last-named city as their common rendezvous. They import large quantities of foreign herbs and "medicines," long-cloths, and the general assortment of Chinese groceries and dry provisions included under the term (*tsak-fo*) "mixed merchandise." Opium in small quantities is also imported, but only for Chinese consumption in the factory, the Japanese not having as yet contracted a taste for this deleterious drug.

The Japanese women are permitted to dwell with the Chinese traders, and a few of them are said to have been inveigled into acquiring the habit of indulging in the fumes of the opium-pipe. About three and a half chests each year find their way into Nagasaki, being smuggled through the native custom-house by the furtive introduction ashore of single balls of the inspissated juice, or by boiling it to a fluid in small square tin boxes, and importing it under the general head of "medicines." An English doctor on board a merchant-ship has the unenviable reputation of having ineffectually tried the experiment of inducing the Japanese to acquire a relish for opium, and of having failed to reap his expected harvest of iniquitous gain from corrupting the tastes of a hitherto intact race. Above one-half of the Chinese are included under the term of the "Foo-

chow guild," and apparently come to Japan by way of Chapoo. The remainder come from Chapoo, Shanghae and other places in the province of Keang-soo, and a few also belong to the city of Ningpo. A few tens of Cantonese are also found among their number; but these are almost universally attached to European establishments at Nagasaki. The Japanese, with the usual tolerant policy of the government in all cases in which their political fears are not excited, have permitted to the Chinese a free exercise of their religious ceremonies, assigning them special temples and burial-places in the city, and allowing them to establish their national divinities within the factory. Within its precincts are contained the chapel of the "Prince of Heaven,"— the shrine of the guardian-spirit of their native district in China,— and a small temple of *Kwan-yin*, the universal deity worshipped by Chinese idolaters and designated by the title of the "Goddess of Mercy."

The Chinese community in Nagasaki are exposed to great distress at the present time through the war-like preparations and proceedings of the Anglo-French expedition in China. They often applied to us for information as to the probable tendency of affairs and the prospect of a termination of the war. The three junks which arrived in the previous autumn, after laying in their cargo and being prepared for their voyage home, have been detained here through fear of being captured and becoming a prize to our men-of-war. The time for the second annual trip was approaching, and they were still delayed. Pecuniary

embarrassment was producing its usual effects, and they were constrained to part with their Japanese cargoes at a diminished and ruinous price. The whole Chinese settlement at this season were beginning to feel the effects in a general impoverishment and panic.

My Chinese acquaintances endeavoured to impress me with the belief that as a body they were better liked and more popular with the Japanese than the generality of European residents. I cannot say that my observations tended to confirm this view. The rough primitive comfortless mode of Chinese life, and a mutual approach in personal habits, may have brought these two Asiatic races to terms of closer familiarity and enabled them to form acquaintances more extensively with the lowest class. But the personal demeanour of a Chinaman is sometimes particularly insolent and overbearing towards the natives whom he meets. I saw a Chinese inflict a severe kick on a Japanese lad in one of the public streets for no other offence than that he was not sufficiently nimble in getting out of his way. He knew himself to be in the wrong, and avoided our rebuke by a sudden flight down an adjoining lane.

A few Chinese strangers may be seen bargaining with the Japanese at the curiosity-shops, and making purchases of lacquered ware and porcelain as presents to their friends in China. Intermingled with the crowd may occasionally also be seen some three or four European or American sailors from a whaling vessel in the harbour, enjoying a cruise in the streets

after being for two or three years immured on board their ship, and sometimes risking misunderstandings and quarrels by their foolish pranks and noisy frolic. A good-natured exhibition of high overflowing spirits commenced in the best of humours, often embroils a reckless company of foreign seamen in a fracas, and unfortunately sometimes terminates in bloodshed and death. It is absolutely necessary to the permanency of pacific relations with these oriental nations that stricter regulations be adopted with parties of sailors on liberty ashore, and that a proper officer be appointed on each visit personally responsible for their good conduct.

On reading the accounts of writers who described Japan a century ago, and comparing their estimate of the national character with the spectacles and exhibitions of native customs and usages now to be commonly observed in the streets of Nagasaki, the inference is unavoidable either that those writers, limited in their opportunities of observation, gave an exaggerated and overdrawn picture in favour of the native character, or that the Japanese of the present day have in some important particulars degenerated from the Japanese who lived a hundred or two hundred years ago.

Dr. Thunberg, a Swedish physician attached to the Dutch factory, wrote nearly a century ago as follows:—

"Japan is in many respects a singular country, when compared with the different states of Europe. In it we behold a form of government, which has existed

without change or revolution for ages; strict and unviolated laws; the most excellent institutions and regulations in the towns, the villages, and upon the roads; a dress, coiffure and customs, that for several centuries, have undergone no alteration; innumerable inhabitants without parties, strife or discord, without discontent, distress or emigrations; agriculture in a highly flourishing state, and a soil in an unparalleled state of cultivation; all the necessaries of life abounding, even to superfluity in the land, without any need of foreign commerce; besides a multiplicity of other advantages."

"Among the rulers of the country are to be found neither throne, sceptre, crown, nor any other species of royal foppery, which in most courts dazzles and blinds the wondering eyes of the simple multitude; no establishment of a royal household, no lords in waiting, nor maids of honour; no extensive and magnificent range of stables, no profusion of horses and elephants, nor masters of horse; no equipages, wheel-carriages, nor cavalry; no wars nor ambassadors, no public functionaries unused to or unqualified for their respective posts; no corporations, imposts, nor other monopolies; no play nor coffee-houses, no taverns nor ale-houses; and consequently no consumption of coffee, chocolate, brandy, wine or punch; no privileged soil, no waste lands, and not a single meadow; no national debt, no paper currency, no course of exchange, and no bankers."

One is required to stop for a moment's breathing-time in reading this long catalogue of enumerated ills

which follow in the train of European civilisation, against which the honest prejudiced Swede pours forth this torrent of radicalism. Without noticing in detail this picture of an oriental paradise which his imagination has painted, I shall leave the incidents which I observed during my stay to speak for themselves and to correct any mis-impressions which this description might be calculated to convey. I cannot however abstain from adverting even at present to such exaggerated assertions as the following:—"*Frugality* has its principal seat in Japan." This may possibly be true as to moderation in eating; but never in any portion of the East have I witnessed so large a proportion of cases of drunkenness as in Japan. Again:—"They (the Japanese) have a fixed dislike to gluttony and *drunkenness*"! The present surgeon attached to the Dutch factory stated to me his belief that after the hour of nine P.M. nearly one-half of the adult population to be met with in Nagasaki are more or less inebriated from the intoxicating draughts of sakee. Reeling men may be seen frequently in the streets; and spirit-shops and wine-taverns abound in every quarter. Again:—"Dearth and famine are strangers to the country." "In the whole extent of this populous empire scarcely a needy person or beggar is to be found." This is also an exaggeration, which is refuted by the presence of numerous beggars, and the ghastly sights of mutilated limbs and running sores which are frequently to be seen. Lastly:—"As the soil is not wasted upon the cultivation of tobacco, or of any other useless plant,

neither is the grain employed in the distillation of spirits or other idle, not to say, pernicious purposes." In no part of the world is tobacco more universally consumed. A tobacco-pipe with metal bowl and short cane tube, and steel, flint, tinder-box and matches for striking a light, are suspended from every girdle, and a necessary appendage to every man's person. Tobacco is grown throughout the country, and its preparation for smoking gives employment to large numbers of the people. Either the writer of these statements must have had his eyes but half open, or the Japanese must have undergone a wonderful change.

There is one particular in which the Japanese are superior to their Chinese neighbours. The fortune-tellers' tables and gambling stands so numerous in the cities of China, are here nowhere to be seen. The laws of Japan interdict gambling by the severest punishments; and no gamester dares to pursue his calling in public. The nearest approximation to gambling which I witnessed was a species of betting on the feats of a tame mouse. A man was generally observed in one of the thoroughfares exhibiting the little animal. Its owner opened a wooden drawer, from which it forthwith escaped, crossed a miniature bridge, pulled open a small door, drew out one of ten papers each enclosing its own number, brought it thence to its master, and then running up his full loose sleeve, buried itself in its folds. Purchases of fruit, sweetmeats and cakes, or a stake of money, were

decided by the chance number which the mouse singled out from the parcel.

In other respects the Japanese manifest a peculiarity of their own in the absence of shops for selling opium, — their exemption from lawless mobs and jostling crowds, — no fights, quarrels or violence in the streets, — the habit of self-control, and the universal ascendency of law preventing a breach of the public peace. Many of the offensive sights and odours common in Chinese thoroughfares are also absent from the scene; no filthy jars and disgusting spectacles in the public resorts. But if some of the disagreeable objects in Chinese streets are absent, it must not be understood that the Japanese have in all these respects attained to an English standard of good breeding. The Japanese norimon-bearers are often very offensive in their violation of decency; and the delicacy of a foreign lady must often be sorely tried by the habits of the common Japanese. Even when the thermometer stands below 70° of Fahrenheit, the Japanese labourers and artisans throw aside their upper garments, and pursue their work with nearly their whole person exposed to view. A small strip of cloth or a cotton rag three inches wide by half a dozen in length, connected with a slight piece of string running around the body, is the nearest approach to a loin-cloth and the flimsiest apology for a covering. The children run about at such times of temperate season in a state of perfect nudity. The women suffer their bosoms to remain exposed, and sometimes divest themselves of sleeves, which hang in

a loose bundle from the tightened girdle confining their nether dress, and thus lay bare the whole upper half of their persons. Naked infants clinging to the bare breasts of their semi-nude mothers are a frequent spectacle in the streets. Though they are generally neat and cleanly in their habits, and scavengers may be seen sweeping their dwellings and the sides of their streets, it must not be supposed that this favourable verdict is given so much after an European as after an Asiatic standard of judgment. Even in the matter of personal cleanliness there is a strange combination of opposite qualities. Bodily ablutions and unwashed clothing mark the habits of one and the same individual. When they lie down at night, the same clothes which they have worn during the day are taken from their person to become, with the quilt of the mattress on which they sleep, their only covering in the shape of bedclothes. Their garments are worn sometimes for months or even a longer period without being washed; and a warm bath for washing the person appears to be with many of the lower classes an economical provision for saving the trouble and inconvenience of washing their clothes.

One peculiar feature in a Japanese street-scene is the number of high wooden pattens making their clattering sound in wet weather, and the slip-shod noise of the ordinary shoes of pedestrians. Their shoes are attached to the front portion of the foot by a piece of string which fits into an aperture of the stocking between the first and second toes. The heel

of the shoe being unconfined rises and falls on the stone pavement with every step, and in a crowded thoroughfare gives forth a continuous tramping din. The common shoes of coolies and working people are made of straw, and are bound fast to the ankle by ligaments of the same material, enabling the wearer to walk more at ease and at a more rapid pace. The horses are shod with sandals of the same perishable material, resembling a whisk of hay tied like a bag around the hoof, and laced with straw bands around the fetlock. At the distance of a few miles a pair of straw shoes, whether for man or beast, is speedily worn out and easily replenished in every village on the way-side.

Stockings are universally worn in winter by the wealthier class of people; and even worsted gloves are not uncommonly to be seen, a piece of foreign luxury introduced by contact with Dutch usages. In the absence of woollen fabrics a strong article of oiled paper manufactured from the inner bark of the mulberry-tree forms a material widely employed in meeting the necessities of out-door life. Oil-paper outer coats rivalling our mackintoshes and capable of repelling any amount of rain, are sold in the shops at a very trifling cost, and sometimes supplied me with a ready means of escape from a sudden shower. Umbrellas of the same material and in a form resembling the Chinese are in universal use. Oil-paper is extensively used as wrappers and envelopes for enclosing silk goods in packing, and in stoutness and durability answers every purpose of tin or leaden casing. In the interior

of Japanese houses the walls are papered with an elegant material of similar manufacture, covered with a white glossy figured pattern and giving an air of neatness and comfort to the rooms. Wall-paper appears to be an indigenous invention peculiarly belonging to Japan, and to have preceded by many ages its introduction into Europe.

The ravages of fire spread frequent disaster and conflagration through the cities. Nagasaki has had its full share of these terrible visitations. The foreign dwellings and warehouses at Desima and its vicinity have once or twice fallen a prey to the destroying element since the recent opening of foreign commerce. The houses of native tradespeople and shopkeepers generally contain a slight upper story, in which the inmates of the household have their sleeping-room, leaving the required space for trade and barter in the ground-floor below. Some white-looking erections of more than ordinary size and finish, stand out occasionally from the general level of roofs and tiles. These are fire-proof enclosures specially raised for holding the more valuable portion of their merchandise and as stores for the safe custody of their perishable treasures. Built of strong materials, they are covered with a thick coating of chunam or white stucco plaster, and have the entrance and windows closely fitted and fastened in a shape which might have suggested the original of our own Chubb patent fire-safes. These square buildings are to be met with in every street, and are the only preservative against the oft-recurring devastations of fire.

The tall perpendicular signboards of Chinese cities are not generally to be met with in Japanese streets. Sentences written in the ordinary Chinese character or in the irregularly flowing easy current style of the Japanese Hiragana character, are to be met with in every direction, inscribed on wooden slabs or moderate-sized frames and containing notices of the articles on sale within. Advertisements of quack-medicines meet the eye at every turn; and Chinese pills and medicinal compounds are emblazoned in bright gilt characters rivalling in their boasted efficacy and power of cure the wondrous effusions of our poetical Morrisons and Holloways in the west. Their medical practitioners sometimes sit for consultation in their own homes and receive visits from their patients in their surgery or dispensing-room. Sometimes a native doctor may be seen with the usual distinguishing dress, half resembling a native gentleman and half like a Budhist priest, with a single sword suspended from his side and with bare clean-shaven crown, pacing with erect dignity the street and followed by a servant bearing on his back a portable dispensary with well-furnished fittings of small labelled drawers. Possessing at hand an abundant supply of medicines, the native practitioner visits his in-door patients and makes up his prescriptions on the spot.

The monotonous sounds of a Budhist chaunt and beating of a hollow piece of wood, are frequently heard from the interior of a Japanese dwelling, in which some inmate of the household lies prostrate

with fever or is afflicted with any other of the prevalent forms of sickness. The priests employed belong to various classes of sacerdotal rank and wear different styles of vestment, from the coarse garb of the priestly servitor and acolyte to the prelatic robe of the abbot of the temple. Many of the priests are boys serving an apprenticeship to some elder priest, engaged partly in studying the ceremonies of their office and employed partly in the menial duties of the temple. Budhist nuns too are not uncommon of all ages, from the young girl of tender years to the decrepit and septuagenarian priestess.

In the houses of the sick boy-priests are often seen engaged in their superstitious rites for expelling the evil demons which bring calamity and for propitiating the favourable influence of their divinities. Charms and incantations performed by the priesthood are supposed to have their meritorious power; and the Bonzes are in greater request than the physicians. On one occasion observing a sick man surrounded by the noisy clatter of Budhist sound-boards and bells accompanying the monotonous prayer of the priest, we learnt on inquiry that the friends of the sufferer had not yet sent for medical help. On other occasions we discovered proofs of the popular mind in such cases being more impressed with the supernatural than with the physical remedies within their reach. A priest's gratuity is more willingly paid than a doctor's fee.

CHAP. VII.

SCENES OF JAPANESE LIFE.

STATUARIES. — SCHOOLS. — BUDHIST PREJUDICE AGAINST SLAUGHTERING OF ANIMALS. — ORDINARY VEHICLES. — KAGOO. — NORIMON. — LOO-CHOOAN EXPERIENCE. — THIEVISHNESS OF NATIVES. — SEVERE LAWS. — PUBLIC BATHING-HOUSES. — SOCIAL EVIL. — NON-SECLUSION OF JAPANESE WIVES.

ALTHOUGH we miss in Japan that spectacle so common in Chinese cities and in rustic pathways — the elaborately sculptured stone archways and monumental inscriptions erected by Imperial permission to commemorate some eminent instance of virtuous widowhood or filial piety, handed down for the example and reverent memory of posterity, the Japanese are not destitute of taste in matters of sculpture and stone ornament. Statuaries and ornamental stonemasons abound in every street. Their workshops are strewed with rough blocks of granite in every stage of progress, from the rough material newly dug from the quarry to the smoothly-chiseled slab, pillar and top-stone ready to complete the sepulchral monument. Gravestones form the chief demand in the statuary's art, and afford employment to vast numbers of artisans. Sacred inscriptions and massive ornaments for the temple-courts supply also their proportion of work. Their deities and the dead receive all the tribute of architectural art; while the living are content to

dwell in buildings of more frail and primitive structure.

Literary eminence carries with it no social or political rewards in Japan. The Chinese system of promoting successful graduates independently of birth or wealth to magisterial offices in the state, gives an impulse to the study of the Confucian classics which renders education in China co-extensive with the pecuniary means of parents enabling them to send their boys to school. But in Japan every man's social condition is irrevocably fixed by his birth, and the line of demarcation which separates class from class is impassable and clearly defined. The labouring man continues to labour, the artisan remains an artisan, the merchant remains a merchant, the soldier remains a soldier, and the prince hands down his princely dignities to the tenth or the twentieth generation without hope of promotion or fear of degradation. Hereditary distinctions appear here to operate with all the permanency, though without the cruelty, of the Brahminical system of Hindoo caste. Hence literature presents no attractions to the poor scholar in the hope of rising by competitive examinations to the honours and emoluments of the state. There are nevertheless numerous Japanese schools, and the ability to read and write is regarded as an accomplishment generally sufficient to induce parents to send their children to school. No native gentleman is to be found who would like to confess his inability to read the common Chinese character employed in books.

On one or two occasions we visited a native school, and were permitted to remain awhile in the school-room to observe the details of management. Thirty pupils principally boys were kneeling or sitting on the calves of their legs on the ground learning their lessons from a book, or occasionally rising on their knees and leaning against a low writing-stand placed before each pupil. The venerable schoolmaster sat at one corner of the room listening to the recitation of a lesson, and having a ferule before him ready to inflict correction. His wife and another woman were employed in winding a skein of silk-thread, and apparently about to assist in teaching sewing and embroidery to the female pupils. The girls sat in a side-room by themselves, but learnt the same course of lessons as the boys. There were none of the loud bawling repetitions of every boy learning his task at the highest pitch of voice tolerated by Chinese pedagogues; and everything wore the semblance of orderly and decorous quiet prevalent in a European school. Some were engaged in writing copies; others in committing to memory portions of the Chinese "Four Books." Mencius and the "Ta Hioh" (Great Lesson) were among the text-books, and furnished a specimen and a proof of the wondrous and widely-diffused ascendency of the sage Confucius over the nations of Eastern Asia. Brief aphorisms and moral sentiments were suspended in large writing around the walls. Chinese books are extensively read throughout the land. Chinese literati have stamped upon Japan the impress of their own peculiar civilisa-

tion; and with the deductions and explanations which will subsequently be appended, the Chinese system of ideographic symbols may be asserted to have well-nigh overpowered and supplanted all indigenous systems of literary composition in Japan.

The young people in the school seemed to regard our entrance as a period of licence, and to cherish no feelings of excessive awe towards their venerable preceptor. Merry voices and loud laughter were freely indulged in; and all the laws of discipline fell into temporary abeyance.

Large quires of paper entirely covered with ink, resembling bundles of black rags, are frequently seen hanging in the fronts of houses or exposed for sale in stationery-shops. These are an economical contrivance for enabling Japanese boys to write and re-write their copies on the same blackened surface. The wet marks of the ink-brush being suffered to dry, the sheet is soon ready for a fresh copy.

During a stay of ten weeks in this and other parts of Japan it was not my lot to witness a single quadruped reared for the purpose of becoming food to man. No goat, no pig, no sheep, came across my view either in the streets of the cities, in the court-yards of private dwellings, or in my excursions among the distant villages and rural homesteads. The only exception was a pet-lamb belonging to a Japanese family near our dwelling in the temple, which we saw led out by the children to feed on the hill-side. It was the offspring of a small flock of sheep presented to the governor of Nagasaki by some American gentlemen connected

with Commodore Perry's expedition. Pork is abundant in the shops of butchers; and pigs are kept in swineries away from the public road. Near my residence subsequently at Kanagawa, above a hundred pigs were housed and fattened for the butcher's knife in a farm-yard within two hundred yards. The oxen commonly to be seen are regarded more as beasts of burden than as food for man. Probably the Budhist prejudice against eating the flesh of animals extends also to Japan. In China Budhist mendicant priests are sometimes to be seen perambulating the streets and distributing tracts warning mankind of the sin of eating animal food. One such broadsheet once came into my possession, on which was printed a large outline figure of an ox, the interior of which was filled up with Chinese sentences and poetical verses dwelling with pathetic sorrow on the wrongs inflicted by degenerate Budhists on the bovine species, and appealing to the religious principles of the sect to spare so useful an animal from the slaughter-house.

A small species of black ox bearing a pair of heavy panniers across the back is a frequent and characteristic object in a Japanese thoroughfare. These animals give notice of their approach by tinklings of the bells which are suspended over their haunches and shaken with every movement of their limbs. The small horses of the country are usually ridden by persons of official rank.

No wheeled carriages are to be seen in the streets of Nagasaki. The nearest approach to such a vehicle

which I observed was a solitary machine used in a timber-yard for transporting immense trunks or beams from place to place, and supported by a pair of wheels. It is not, however, correct to state that wheel-carriages are altogether unknown throughout the country. In the streets of Yeddo the capital, I saw hundreds of carts laden with mercantile goods; and the roads were cut and indented with deep ruts in rainy weather. The ordinary vehicle of a Japanese who wishes to escape the fatigue of walking or to pay visits to his friends in a style of fashionable gentility, is a square oblong box covered over at the top and open by a sliding door at the sides, in which he is compelled to crouch in a squatting posture, and is borne along by two bearers, one before and the other behind, carrying on their shoulders a long heavy beam from which the machine is suspended. Borne or rather swung along at an uneasy pace, an Englishman finds this rude conveyance a most uncomfortable mode of travel. The common kind formed of bamboo, and used by the middle class of natives, is called a *kagoo*. The more spacious and more elegantly-finished vehicle employed by the officials and richer Japanese, is made of lacquered wood and more costly materials, and is called a *norimon*. The squatting posture which seems easy and natural to a Japanese, is very painful after a short time to a European accustomed to sit. I felt compelled to place my legs across in front, and on a longer journey I was under the necessity of occasionally thrusting a leg out of the side to ease the cramped limb at the risk of

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suffering its sudden amputation or fracture by a norimon rapidly crossing us in the opposite direction. I was not altogether unused to this mode of conveyance, and here append a description of the same kind of carriage in which I took some short excursions in Loochoo in the year 1850.*

"The kagoo in which I was borne, is a vehicle only one remove above the contrivances of savage life. It is a mere box, similar in size and shape to that in which meat is hung on the poop of a ship. This little machine, being about two feet and a half in height, and slightly roofed at the top, is open at the sides, with the exception of a little loose blind used at option, and is borne on the shoulders of two men, one before and the other behind, who run along with the weight suspended diagonally forward, at an uneasy, irregular pace of five miles an hour, resembling a jog-trot. The traveller enters at the side and has to squat or sit in Turkish fashion on the bottom of the vehicle, occasionally grasping the pole above to prevent being shaken out into the road, and generally clasping his knees with his hands close to his chin. A more primitive invention it is impossible to conceive. This is the only carriage known in Loochoo; and the only improvement in those used by the highest rulers consists in a little additional width to the floor."

Even the ordinary kagoos in Japan are somewhat larger and of lighter construction than those in Loochoo. The most expensive kind of norimons are

* Loochoo and the Loochooans, by the Bishop of Victoria. Hatchards, London.

probably a very tolerable mode of conveyance to those who are habituated from infancy to sitting on their heels and knees.

The common Japanese coolies who hire themselves as kagoo-bearers, are a far less docile and tractable race than their kinsmen in Loochoo. They are somewhat independent in their bearing and have begun to adopt the unpleasant habit of deeming a foreigner a fair victim for their extortions. Once or twice when everything was ready for a short journey, the kagoo-bearers commenced bargaining for an unreasonable amount of pay; and unless their terms were complied with, they delayed us by their long parleyings, and sometimes even threatened to lay us down and disappoint us of our excursion. The Japanese boatmen also are ready to reciprocate any loud tones of high domineering language, and repel any attempts to treat them as an inferior race of people. It is right to state too that it is a European's own fault if he does not find them generally a most easily managed and friendly race. We are strangers in the land, and we must not too loudly complain if they deem foreign employers a class of men possessed of more wealth than themselves and able to afford an extra rate of remuneration. Their thievishness is the most unamiable part of their character, and the long deep sleeves worn by all classes furnish a ready means of secreting stolen articles. An umbrella or a pocket-handkerchief, a book or any small article of household furniture, is alike acceptable to their highly-developed faculty of acquisitiveness, and is deemed fair

game for their furtive capture. We had a native watchman during the whole night pacing round our temple dwelling. He was honest according to the current morality of his class, and while he practised largely a series of pilferings on his own behalf, he deemed himself in duty bound to protect us from the nocturnal depredations of other men. On one occasion a second watchman was placed as a secret watcher on the first; and the result was a detection of the first in the very act of stealing wood and provisions, and his immediate dismissal after being compelled to disgorge a portion of his mal-appropriated booty.

Pleasant pictures are sometimes drawn of Japanese manners as resembling Arcadian scenes of innocence, simplicity and bliss. It is not an agreeable discovery to find these glowing bright scenes on nearer aspect a mere series of dissolving views melting away into the sober tints of prosaic reality and commonplace fact. If the Japanese are more exempt than other eastern races from the darker crimes which infest society and desolate the world, the explanation must be sought rather in the sanguinary severity of their laws than in the prevalence of any high moral standard of action. A man who offends in one point is guilty of all and liable to the consequences of disobedience. Death is the one general penalty of transgressing the law. Even thefts of property amounting to forty itzebus (a little more than three pounds sterling) in value, are liable to be visited with the punishment of death. Highway robbery and murder are not of very unfrequent occurrence. During the present year two

men waylaid a traveller near the suburbs of Nagasaki, who was known to possess a small sum of money on his person; and after beheading him with their swords, robbed him of the booty. They were detected and suffered decapitation for the crime. Human nature itself must indeed have undergone a change, if the severe penalties impending over the criminal operated effectually to the extermination of crime. It is nevertheless undoubtedly true that from the combined influences of the sanguinary and merciless severity of their punishments, and the ordinary certainty of detection through the ubiquity of spies, Japan seems more than usually favoured among the countries of Eastern Asia, by its exemption from civil tumults and the general security of life and person. The division of the whole country into districts, and every district into wards, and every ward into its own little company of family-heads, all mutually responsible and punishable for a breach of the peace or the commission of crime, lends also a powerful help in vindicating the law and causing order to prevail.

The public bathing-houses are an institution of Japan which has often been adverted to by those who have visited the country. I shall not dwell longer upon this subject than will suffice to state that they are the ordinary resort of the poorer classes who prefer paying a few iron cash for the national luxury of a warm bath in common, to incurring the expense of boiling the necessary quantity of water for a private ablution of their persons at their own homes. Towards the latter part of the afternoon or at an early

hour of the evening, all ages and both sexes are intermingled in one shameless throng of bathers without signs of modesty or of any apparent sense of moral indecorum. Some persons palliate this custom of promiscuous bathing in public by assuming the innocent simplicity of their primitive habits, and dwelling on the wide difference of every country in the conventionalities of moral right and wrong. The obvious reply to this charitable theory is that the Japanese are one of the most licentious races in the world.

I abstain also from making a more than passing allusion to another of the national institutions of Japan, the government regulation of houses of infamy and the public revenue accruing from the systematic licensing and control of these resorts of the dissolute. Young females of handsome appearance are sold by their venal parents, and consigned at an early age to a life of degradation. At the expiration of their term of service, they are not unfrequently taken in marriage by the middle class of Japanese, who regard it as no disgrace to select their wives from such institutions.

The social position of the female sex among the Japanese appears to be more favourable than in most pagan countries. It is Christianity alone which has fully emancipated and enfranchised woman and secured to her in the family and in society the exalted station of moral influence, as a virtuous companion, a sympathising counsellor and an unselfish sharer of man's sorrows and joys, originally designed by a merciful Creator amid the primitive purity and in-

nocence of Paradise. Paganism and Mahomedanism have systematically degraded woman and reduced her to the position of an inferior and a slave.

The daughters in a Japanese family appear to receive an equal amount of parental care and attention with that bestowed on their male offspring. The ideas which prevail among the Chinese of the misfortune of having female children do not seem to exist among this people. No wailings of grief and sounds of mourning are heard on the birth of a daughter. Female infanticide, which in some of the maritime villages of Amoy and the adjoining parts of the province of Fokien reduces by nearly one-half the proportion of female children among the poorer classes of rustic population, does not extend to the country of Japan. Neither excessive destitution, nor the Chinese sentiments of the degradation of woman and the uselessness of daughters in a household, have operated in producing this cruel and unnatural practice among the Japanese.

Among the groups of little children which line each side of the more retired streets or the pathways of the rural hamlets, girls seemed to be held in equal estimate with boys, and to occupy no lower place in the circle of home affections. Their little daughters are caressed with all the manifestations of fond endearment by every class alike of rich and poor. Even in China, where the absence of male offspring carries with it a peculiar weight of domestic calamity in the prospect of no male descendant to pay worship before the ancestral tablet and to make sacrificial

offerings at the tomb, natural affection generally asserts its supremacy, and female children entwine themselves around a parent's heart. In Japan, nothing beyond the universally prevalent pagan sentiment of the inferiority of females, operates to the disadvantage of woman in the family circle.

Japanese girls have much care bestowed upon their instruction in the accomplishments of life. Among the better classes they are taught in the arts of playing the guitar, dancing, singing songs, and ministering to the amusement of the other sex.

Women may sometimes be seen engaged in agricultural employments in the fields. But they do not appear to be reduced, even among the lowest classes, to the hard servitude of out-door bodily toil often seen in other countries.

Japanese ladies are accustomed on their marriage to extract the hairs of their eyebrows from the roots and dye their teeth with a black colour. A mixture of iron-filings, acids and other materials is applied, and the white teeth of the maiden are changed into a jet black, which gives a repulsive and disgusting appearance to Japanese married ladies. The universal custom of dyeing the lips with a deep red colour, and the plentiful besmearing of their faces with white powder or flour-dust, excite a disagreeable impression of a Japanese lady's toilette. Black teeth are a protection to their wearer. The wives are the best-conducted portion of the population. The laws concerning adultery are rigidly severe against the female offender. An injured husband may also himself inflict death on

the spot upon a guilty male paramour, provided that he visit the offending wife with the same severity of vindictive retribution. Japanese husbands give themselves a universal licence; and their dissolute life carries with it no disgrace or punishment. But the women, when once they become the mistress of a household and blacken their teeth, are separated for ever from the temptations and the dangers of unmarried life.

The wives in a household appear to hold a more independent and less secluded position than in China. It is not an unfrequent sight to see a husband and wife eating their meals in common, sitting together in the same room exposed to the public gaze of passers-by, and assisting each other in the ordinary transactions of their business and trade. The wives often take their place in a shop and relieve their husbands of the more sedentary portion of their duties. They appear also to occupy more fully than elsewhere in the East a post of confidence and partnership in the cares and occupations of daily life. A married woman seems to be admitted among the lower and middle classes to an intimacy and familiar intercourse with strangers, visitors and customers, which presents an appearance of approximation to the ideas and habits of European society. Sometimes a Japanese woman of respectability and moderate means may be observed visiting the counting-houses of some of the newly-settled English or American merchants, and plying a barter or closing some commercial transaction in the articles of silk, tea or

vegetable wax. A Japanese wife sits with her husband in the shop, not only helping him in his accounts, but advising him also in his mercantile dealings, and bearing her share in the calculations of loss and gain. Their children too form a part of the family picture, and engross no small amount of parental fondness and care. They are apt to indulge their children in their capricious childish whims, and give them a wide margin of licence in their infantile sport and play. I saw one child old enough for correction deliberately seize and break some little glass ornaments one after another exposed for sale in the shop, scattering the fragments on the ground and receiving in return the laughter and renewed pettings of its admiring and over-fond parents. A family scene in the middle rank of society is not the least pleasing and redeeming feature of Japanese life.*

* Thunberg writes in the usual strain of what has been termed a "Japan-stricken enthusiast:" — "Subordination to government and obedience to their parents are inculcated into children in their early infancy, and in every situation of life they are in this respect instructed by the good example of their elders, which has this effect that *the children are seldom reprimanded, scolded or chastised.*"

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CHAP. VIII.

POPULAR CUSTOMS.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF JAPANESE.—NEW-YEAR HOLIDAYS.—FIVE GREAT NATIONAL FESTIVALS. — BUDHIST PURGATORY. — FLYING KITES. — GIRLS' HOLIDAY IN A TEMPLE. — MINSTRELS. — STREET COMEDIES.

THE marriage ceremonies of the Japanese are related in lengthened detail by some European writers, and are no unimportant part of social etiquette. Diplomatic mediators are commissioned to negotiate between the parties, and the customary presents and tokens are duly established by usage. The wedding is celebrated at a convivial meeting of both families; and the place of every relative is arranged on the strictest rules of precedence. Deep potions of *sakee* form no inconsiderable part of the festival; and the bridal pair are launched upon matrimonial life amid the exuberant hilarities of family feasting.

In the upper ranks of life the principals in the marriage-contract are interdicted by the polite usages of aristocratic custom from having a personal interview before the celebration of the marriage. Various methods however are adopted by Japanese gentlemen of youthful age for eluding this inconvenient and unreasonable interdiction; and in later times it appears that the rule has been often thought as better honoured in its breach than in its observance. Stolen

opportunities of observing the lady's personal claims to beauty are contrived by the inventive ingenuity of intending bridegrooms, before matters have proceeded so far as the delegation of a middle person to initiate the proposal of a matrimonial alliance. Among the lower classes the formalities and obligations of etiquette are less binding. A Japanese of moderate wealth and station may proceed so far as to obtain a personal interview; and if he be dissatisfied with the personal appearance of the lady, he is not yet irretrievably committed to the step of making her his wife. The advantages of family connection and good birth exert also their influence in leading to his decision. The frequent disappointment experienced by expectant brides is said to have gradually abolished the custom of formal interviews; and a young man is obliged to content himself with a transient view of his intended, as she is carried by in her norimon or visits the temples in a passing throng. If the view prove satisfactory to his tastes, a married friend of his acquaintance is delegated with the grave negotiations and makes his formal visit for the purpose to the lady's parents.

It is to be feared that among people of quality the Chinese usage of affiancing their children in infancy more ordinarily prevails, and that husbands in the higher classes are bound for life to wives in whose selection they have had no voice. The usual evil consequences of such ill-assorted marriages naturally prevail; and Japanese gentlemen in such cases deem themselves at liberty to take into their house as many

concubines as their wealth and inclinations may decide. The custom of purchasing secondary wives or concubines, though less common, is not unknown among the lower classes. The children of all alike are deemed legitimate offspring and adopted by the principal wife or mistress of the household.

In former times a betrothed bride was not allowed to contract a second engagement in the event of her husband-elect dying before the consummation of the marriage. The cruel tyranny of such a custom was not likely to be respected or to hold a perpetual sway over the lower orders in a land where practical common sense maintains its habitual ascendency and power. Even the vassal princes and feudal lords of the empire have gradually relaxed the rigour of this rule. In the various branches of the imperial family this regulation appears to have been very recently in force. Titsingh relates in the latter part of the last century:—"If the present Djogoun" (Siogoon, Tycoon, or secular emperor at Yeddo) "who previously to his being elected hereditary prince in 1779, was betrothed to the daughter of the Prince of Satsuma, had died before the consummation of the marriage, the princess would have been obliged to remain single all her life. Had he been sooner elected successor to the throne, he would have been obliged to marry a princess of his own family, or of the court of the Dairi" (i.e. the Mikado, the spiritual or ecclesiastical emperor at the religious capital, Miako).

Titsingh relates the following strange illustration of Japanese manners in his day:—"In ancient times

the following custom prevailed in the province of Ozu. Whoever took a fancy to a girl, wrote his name on a small board called *nisi-kigi*, and hid it between the mats in the ante-chamber of her house. These boards showed the number of her lovers, and remained there till she took away that of the man whom she preferred. At present the choice of a wife depends throughout the whole empire on the will of the parents. Of course there is seldom any real affection in these matters, and the husband cares but little about his wife. All the men, from the highest to the lowest, keep concubines or frequent brothels."

The state of Japanese social morals is by universal testimony judged to be very dark and degraded. Titsingh, in the 251st page of his work, mentions in plain terms the existence of a class of infamous houses in their cities, and the practice of abominable vices in the private dwellings of the rulers calculated to paint in the blackest colours the moral and social degradation which then prevailed. The Japanese of the present day affect to disbelieve and strongly deny the prevalence of such forms of criminality at the present time. There is, however, a palpable shamelessness in all classes and among both sexes of natives. No delicacy, no modesty, no sense of shame appears to be recognised among the courtesies of life; and scenes which would have produced confusion and embarrassment in the female circles of Europe, were specially pointed at and exulted in as a subject of fair merriment and jocose laughter between married

persons of opposite sexes within the sphere of my observation.

Frequent visits were paid to the dwelling of the two earliest Protestant missionaries on their first arrival by fathers and mothers anxious to gain a temporary settlement for their daughters and to hire them out for monthly wages. Universal incredulity was expressed at the moral purity of the newly-arrived strangers. Even their religious mission and office served not to protect them from these visits and proposals. Female visitors in company with their husbands and above suspicion as to their propriety of life, in the natural course of conversation addressed to them the inquiry as to the detailed arrangements of such an unhallowed relationship universally assumed to have been contracted in the temple. On this particular vice the moral sense seems blunted, and the national conscience is paralysed and disabled from clear perceptions between right and wrong by gross and lengthened familiarity with the evil.

Young females themselves, if belonging to families of slender means, evince an ambitious desire of promotion into the household of a foreigner; and regard their improved food, comforts and pay as a preferable lot to the drudgery of an ordinary Japanese housewife. The Budhist priests show the worst example to the people, and are universally looked upon as violating the vows of celibacy. In the public festivals in the various temples white-toothed maidens of fairest exterior were often observed among the casual attendants upon visitors in bringing refreshments and

obeying the orders of their priestly master; and popular rumour reports them as generally being permanent nocturnal inmates of the establishment.

The Chinese element is very perceptible in the literature, religion and festivals of Japan, which country owes a large portion of her peculiar phase of civilisation to early intercourse with her neighbour on the continent of Asia. The text-books in their schools, their models of literary style, the very language itself of native authors, and the whole system of their political ethics are borrowed from the Confucian sages and literati of China. The same sceptical indifference towards the religious observances of the multitude, and superiority to the idolatrous superstitions of Budhism, which prevail among the scholars and official magnates in China, have reappeared in Japan as the necessary consequence of their study of the Chinese classics and the ascendency of the national sage of China over the educated portion of the Japanese. Hence it arises that amid all the external semblance of zeal and devoutness on the part of the lower orders and the female portion of the Japanese people, the materialism of Chinese philosophers has been transplanted into Japan, and a disbelief in a future state of rewards and punishments very generally prevails among the upper classes. Reverence to parents, obedience to magistrates, periodical worship of the presiding tutelary divinity of each district, and, above all, the customary offerings at the ancestral tombs, form here, as in China, the principal part of religious duties. Visits to certain sacred shrines, pilgrimages to holy places and observance of the national holidays

constitute the most of what is deemed their religious life.

The celebration of holidays and festivals is a grand commemoration in which all classes alike participate. Many of these have been introduced from China in early ages, and have now become deeply rooted in the time-honoured institutions of Japan. The Japanese are essentially a holiday-keeping race. The sentiment of religion helps the natural bias of their disposition. Strictly defined social divisions, hereditary trades, the bonds of prescriptive custom, the distinction of classes and the ordinary impossibility of a man rising above the rank and calling of his father, remove many of the inducements prevailing elsewhere for the accumulation of wealth and dispose the majority of persons to pluck the fruit of present enjoyment of their money. Hoarded riches present fewer attractions to a people who cannot (as in China) purchase honorary rank from the government. Ambition is checked and sensual indulgence receives a proportionate impulse.

On every fine day numbers of the middle class of tradesmen may be seen going forth in family groups and gay holiday attire to rusticate on their picturesque hills and to enjoy a refection in the public houses of refreshment which form a peculiar feature in their highways and scenes of resort. They seem to regard it a religious duty to keep holiday and make merry. Often this sentiment makes itself perceptible in the questions put to foreign visitors in their distant excursions. As we rode on horseback through the villages, the people generally asked us if this day

were Zondag (Sunday). It is to be feared that the foreigners with whom they have been too frequently brought into intercourse, and especially the Dutch of former times in their long isolation from the moral restraints of Christendom, have given a general currency to the idea that the Zondag (Sunday) was a day of pastime. This Japanese transferred term from the Dutch word for the holy day of Christians appears to be suggestive to their minds more of a holiday excursion than of a religious observance and day of rest. Sometimes a Japanese neighbour or some friend of our acquaintance walking in the street with his gaily-attired daughters or by the side of some elder lady of his household riding in her norimon, would answer our inquiries by saying that he had been taking his *Zondag* in a holiday-trip of pleasure.

The great holiday of the new year, extending over the former half of the first month and generally falling during our month of February, exists in Japan in all the gala-day jubilant rejoicings of its great Chinese original. Visits of ceremony, presents in families, feastings among friends, fireworks and crackers, fine clothes and universal idleness, mark this recurring season of the new year. The period of new and full moon brings with it also its customary relaxation from business, but is not marked by any general signs of holiday. The special festivals of the various Budhist sects or the commemorative religious anniversaries in honour of the founders of particular temples, have also their attractions with the idle or carry their obligations on the devout. The anni-

versaries of the decease of parents and the sacred days fixed by the Budhist calendar after the funeral of a recently-deceased member of the family, form also to each individual a special season of religious observance.

But the great periods of the five national holidays of Japan are more especially the season of universal holiday and popular rejoicing. Compared with these the other observances which have been described, are partial and local. On these five special seasons the whole population of Japan keeps its national holiday, and the Japanese race throughout the islet-studded archipelago of its many shores and provinces relaxes from care and gives itself to merriment and joy. They are considered pre-eminently fortunate days, and are a time for grand levees and mutual visits. They possess also the prescriptive authority of a long and venerable antiquity, and the additional force of owing their time of observance to the special appointment of the supreme spiritual authority of the nation. In the seventh century of the Christian era, the times of their observance, previously irregular and uncertain, were finally settled and fixed by the Dairi or Court of the Ecclesiastical Emperor, before he was denuded of his temporal dominion and reduced to a mere shadow of power.

The *first* national festival of Japan occurs in the middle of the new year's holidays and is held on the seventh day of the first month. It is called by the learned the "Day of Man." People entertain their friends with a pottage of peculiar composition, exchanging

visits of congratulation, and wishing each other a long and fortunate life.

The *second* is usually termed by Europeans the "Feast of Dolls," and is observed on the third day of the third month. A small stage in every house is covered with small images representing the Dairi and commemorating famous personages in the national mythology. Miniature temples, the interior of the imperial palace, the members of the court, the furniture and decorations of grandees' houses, and various utensils of cooking and kitchen use, are set out in ornamental and gorgeous array. A beverage distilled from peach-blossom, a supposed prophylactic against all kinds of infectious disease, is handed to their visitors, and neighbours pay each other the compliment of mutual good wishes for prosperity and happiness. This festival is supposed to have the advantage of familiarising young girls with the sight of the interior arrangements of high life, and of initiating them into the arts and duties of a good Japanese housewife.

The *third* great festival is called the "Feast of Flags," and is annually commemorated on the fifth day of the fifth month. For a period of six days silken, canvas or paper flags are suspended from a long bamboo-pole, inscribed with the armorial bearings of some prince or with the representation of the heroic achievements of popular legend, exciting the martial ardour of the Japanese youth and arousing a spirit of noble emulation of their bravery. Boys receive presents of wooden sabres, swords, pikes, bows and

arrows, and are reminded by the playthings of childhood of the military achievements of their ancestors and the glorious reminiscences of their race. A predilection for military service is thus encouraged in the young men, and the rising generation is excited to imitate the bravery of their forefathers.

The *fourth* festival is held on the seventh day of the seventh month, being termed the "Evening of Stars," and founded on some fiction of Chinese origin. It was instituted in honour of two constellations, to whom offerings of incense are made and prayers for a blessing are offered up.

The *fifth* national holiday is called the "Festival of Motherwort," at which a spirituous liquor distilled from this herb is drunk, and servants are accustomed to pay their respects to their masters and to attire themselves in their finest garments. It appears to be founded on some obscure legend respecting an ancient Chinese monarch. At Nagasaki it is celebrated on the seventh day of the ninth month, and has assumed the character of a special local holiday resembling a fair, at which public dances are held in a square of the city, and gaily-dressed children form a part of the pageant in honour of O-souva-sama, a god of the Sinto religion. The eighth day is one of rest. On the ninth the dances are renewed, and prayers are offered to this divinity that he will procure by his intercession a blessing on the local trade with the Dutch at Nagasaki.

In addition to these five national holidays celebrated by canonical authority and original appointment by the Dairi, the people of Nagasaki observe a

festival at the full moon of the seventh month, which Dutch writers have termed the "Feast of Lanterns." It was introduced from China in the eighth century of our era. Offerings are made and prayers recited on behalf of deceased relatives; lanterns are suspended and a feast is spread at the tombs; and the services of the Budhist priests are largely called into requisition. The existence of this superstitious observance is another instance of the intimate intercourse between China and Japan which existed in early times, and of the widely diffused influence exerted by the former nation on the religion, literature and history of the latter.

This holiday is doubtless the same superstitious observance as came within my observation in the Chinese city of Ningpo in August of the year 1845, and my narrative of which*, published some years ago, will probably be the most convenient mode of description at the present time.

"During the first two nights after my return to Ningpo, I could get but little sleep amid the continued sound of drums, gongs and flutes, caused by the superstitious observances prevalent among the people on the occasion of the *fang yen kow*. This is the term used to denote the ceremonies performed in the seventh month of the Chinese year, on behalf of departed spirits, in order to rescue them from the Budhist purgatory. The rites are explained as having originated in the supposed misery and po-

* Rev. George Smith's Exploratory Visit to China in 1844–6, Seeleys, London, pp. 208—210.

verty, in the spiritual world, of such persons as had left behind no surviving offspring or relatives to make the accustomed offerings of gilt money and paper garments to their manes. Lanterns are hung in all directions; platforms are erected and covered with provisions; the hungry spirits are invited to partake of a repast; and the people observe a kind of vigil. A general subscription of money is raised for the occasion.

"The Chinese tenants of the house adjoining my own on a subsequent evening hired the attendance of some priests, who for three or four dollars devoted the whole evening to singing a number of dirges on the occasion of the natal day of Te-wang, the prince of the infernal regions. At this period of the year popular superstition commemorates the release of many spirits from their prison below, and their temporary admission into the upper regions, to receive the offerings of food, garments, and money. The melancholy chauntings to the king of the infernal realms, and the offerings of food to the spirits of the dead, are supposed to possess the meritorious efficacy of propitiating the imaginary deity, and hastening the deliverance of their friends from destitution in the other world. On the latter occasion, I congratulated myself on their terminating the sound of the bells, gongs and discordant voices, at so early an hour as that of midnight. Cases of similar superstition are often to be seen on the occurrence of sickness in a family. The inmates commence beating drums and gongs, and set out a feast, in the superstitious belief that some

deceased member of the family is starving in the world below, and that, in revenge of their neglect, his spirit is come to feed on the body of the sick person. Hence they seek by the bribe of a feast and the intimidation of sounds to expel the unwelcome author of their calamity. The educated Chinese are often raised above the influence of these vulgar terrors; but the empire of superstition is almost universal."

If the Japanese do not enjoy the blessings of what is called in the West constitutional freedom, and know little about theories of civil and religious liberty, they contrive to make daily life flow smoothly in the stream of time, and are content to be borne along on the tide of present sensual enjoyment and careless ease. If we could dare to exclude from our estimate all thought of an Almighty Ruler of the world, the holy purity of the divine law and the certainty of a judgment to come, a Christian narrator might find less difficulty in coinciding in the generally received expressions respecting the happy condition and external prosperity of the people of Japan. Exempt from political cares, they know few trials apart from bodily wants and the hard toil of labouring for the meat that perisheth. They compensate themselves for the absence of the comforts of a civilisation to which they are as yet strangers, by helping themselves liberally to those material comforts which a little money at any time places within their reach. Old and young banish care by a plentiful intermixture of pastimes in the occupations of life.

At this time the flying of paper kites afforded a large kind of amusement to the male inhabitants of the city. In every direction the sky was dotted with fantastic imitations of birds, beasts and serpents dancing up and down or imitating a creeping crawling movement as the string by which they were confined regulated their motions. The hill-sides were covered with kite-flyers chiefly boys and young men; but elderly men often joined in the prevailing amusement. Even some of the priests of the neighbouring temples joined in the game, and evinced all the exciting eagerness of the lay multitude. The Japanese system of dualism extends even to their kites, which may be generally seen in pairs attached to separate lines and possessing each their separate owners. Every kite possesses its own fashion and a conspicuous device or armorial bearing in various colours, identifying when far aloft in the air the name and family of the owner. A peculiar game is played between a pair of kites. Two persons engage in a match of attacking each other's kite, the one bringing his line suddenly against that of the other kite-flyer and by means of a quick sawing motion cutting it asunder, thus setting his adversary's kite free to descend to the ground. The string is made of a thin wiry hemp strengthened by a kind of size and mixture of sand, so as to give it a tough texture and sharp edge; and the wayward careering descent and occasional loss of the vanquished kite affords great amusement to the watching crowds.

If the Sinto temples are not free from the irreverent

games of boys, the Budhist temples are not altogether exempted from the holiday pastimes of the opposite sex. In one of the temples near our dwelling, in which we had a few days before seen a thousand worshippers prostrating themselves in apparent devoutness of demeanour before the images of the gods, we once saw a large assemblage of young ladies who told us that they were come to enjoy a Zondag. Above fifty girls of ages varying from ten to twenty years were holding in the temple and in close vicinity to the idols, a grand gala-day and holiday rejoicing. Dressed out in their gayest silks and brightest coloured robes, with a broad red girdle confining their flowing graceful folds and fastened into a large knot behind, they formed a lively group of dark-eyed merry damsels who shook the roof of the sacred edifice with their merry peals of laughter. They romped and shouted, danced and played in turn, rushing to the entrance at the sight of two foreigners with fearless glances and noisy recognitions, and the next moment coquettishly shutting the doors amid the renewed merriment of the girlish crowd within. At a distance their rosy lips and fair cheeks, with the well-proportioned contour of face, gave them a handsome appearance; but a nearer approach and view revealed the unpleasant sight of red daubs of paint and a plentiful shower of white powder which disfigured the features. Their lively nimble dances were a strong contrast to the limping slow crippled gait of Chinese ladies visiting the temples. It was pleasing to observe the naturalness and simplicity of manners which prevails

as one of the results of the comparative non-seclusion of the female sex in Japan.

Minstrels and musicians are another source of amusement to the people. Public singers go from house to house, singing their national melodies and accompanying their voice with a long three-stringed guitar struck with a small bamboo plectrum. In the inner part of the houses amateur songsters were often heard, and a tune on the guitar is a frequent sequel to the evening meal. In the southern suburb an elderly woman was often to be seen singing in some shop for hire in the deep tones of an acquired baritone voice, and forming a strange contrast to the high shrill falsetto notes of male Chinese singers. The tune was generally slow, pathetic and in a minor key. The art of music, however, appears to be at the lowest point, when judged by a European ear.

Another class of purveyors of amusement is to be seen in the professional jesters or reciters of comic tales, who go from house to house and earn money by their exhibition of wit. The "laughing-talk man" is one of the institutions of Japan. Sometimes by reading a low native novel, or by extemporising some story of vulgar fun, he gathers a little audience around him in the public street, or exhibits for a pecuniary reward his mimic powers among the inmates of a private dwelling.

Low street comedies are, however, the more common spectacle which excites the applause of the laughter-loving populace. Itinerant play-actors display their theatrical powers and block up the public

thoroughfare with a crowd. A large proportion of these consists of juvenile performers trained from earliest childhood to imitate the tones and assume the airs of adult men and women acting with impassioned voice and gesture the incidents of some romance of real life. On one occasion a party of youthful actors prevented our passing through the crowd until a momentary cessation of the play was made and the opening in their ranks enabled us to emerge into the opposite quarter. The party consisted of a company of family strolling players. The old father spread a number of mats in the street, and after setting up a few articles of an imaginary room, proceeded to beat a drum which was accompanied by the mother striking a tortoise-shell guitar and singing a deep and plaintive air. Their group of children stood around with thickly-painted cheeks and alternated their parts. First a boy about twelve years of age recited an harangue with passionate emotion. His younger sister bore her part in reply. Then there was the boy's rejoinder, which greatly amused the crowd. Then a still younger girl scarcely five years old acted in prattling half-articulated tones her share in the dialogue. The boy again took up the harangue with energy and emphasis of voice, drawing forth loud and repeated laughter and applause at various points of his address, which, though unintelligible to us, seemed to tickle the popular fancy and to afford a high relish to the admiring crowd. The collecting-box went round at intervals, and the scene of their declamation was adjourned to a neighbouring street.

CHAP. IX.

JAPANESE DRAMA.

SUPERIOR CLASS OF THEATRICAL EXHIBITION. — ACTORS. — MORALISING CHORUS. — SCENES. — NATIONAL TRAGEDY. — "HAPPY DESPATCH." — HARAKIRI. — JAPANESE IDEAS ON LEGAL SUICIDE. — DISREGARD OF DEATH. — OLD DUELLING PLEA.

DURING the period of my stay in Nagasaki a very celebrated company of actors visited the city from the imperial capital Yeddo. In a large square about two or three hundred yards from our house a temporary shed was erected of bamboo scaffolding covered over with a roof of matting. For ten days they continued to attract large audiences of the wealthy and middle classes. Their performances were often intermitted on the rainy days of the now commencing wet season. On the morning of every fine day some member of their body ascended the roof, and for three hours before noon continued to sound a wooden rattle as a public notice that the theatrical exhibitions would on that day be resumed. The feats of martial heroes, valiant deeds of battle and all the more prominent events which have occurred in the history of their country, were acted amid the din of shouting voices, the clangour of arms and the applause of the multitude, and often aroused us from our reading

amid the quiet monotony of our temple life. The Japanese teachers often mentioned this professional company as something peculiarly raised above the common order, and their plays as belonging to the true style of national drama. They would shake their heads in contempt of the ordinary street-shows as below the consideration of a polished gentleman; but often pointed to the neighbouring scene as a true sample of excellence in its way.

In one of my morning strolls into the city I passed close to the edge of the square, and was fortunate in securing a convenient point of observation and a friend able to explain each feature of interest in the passing scene. In a spacious kind of pit about a thousand persons of the middle class of Japanese were stationed, men, women and children, who for a trifling sum had a place on the floor conveniently arranged for sitting. The principal stage extended the whole way across one end of the temporary structure, and from its extreme right a narrower side-stage ran along the whole length of the building, terminating in a moderate-sized dressing-room, conveniently situated for the actors and enabling them to change their garb and to retire outside and re-appear in a different character from behind the principal stage. On three sides of the pit an elevated gallery was erected, separated into compartments each capable of accommodating a family group. These were partially concealed from the general throng of spectators, being occupied at a higher rate of payment by the more aristocratic classes and having their armorial

bearings emblazoned in large size on the drapery facing outwards towards the pit. These private boxes for the wealthy were entered each by a separate approach outside the theatre, and a portable ladder was taken from place to place to enable visitors to effect their ascent. In these separate rooms each family or circle of friends was partitioned off by canvas curtains from their neighbours; and the people of quality were preserved intact from the vulgar jostling and observation of the crowd.

On the principal stage a dozen actors were observed in the middle of some solemn exciting scene of high imperial or lordly life. They were squatting on their knees and heels, and in this kneeling posture declaimed in all the energetic tones of expostulation, defiance, argument, deprecation, love, anger or hate, throwing aloft their arms or waving their hands according to the accepted laws of oratorical art. An old musician stationed partially out of sight in a small side-room on the extreme left of the stage, played melodies on his guitar and accompanied the air with his deep bass tones, occupying an important solo part in the scenes and moralising in all the sublime virtue of the old Greek chorus, as tragedy, comedy, battle, heroism, virtue or vice formed the musical theme of his running comments, and drew forth his patronising commendation or his denunciatory warning. The stage at the time of our entrance was occupied by a train of lofty personages, acting high scenes of royalty in which princes, nobles and illustrious dames of olden time, with retinues of

men and maidens, and the attendant paraphernalia of official pomp, were acted in all their variety of magniloquent tone, gesture and dress.

The characters of females were sustained by men; and the faces of all were adapted to their parts by an immoderate use of vermilion and rouge. The evil genius of the plot—the Richard III. or the Iago of the piece—had his features distorted into the most savage and sternest of countenances by thick daubs of paint, investing him with the look of a monster or a fiend. He was the schemer, the wicked counsellor, the universally hating and hated man of the plot, as he hurled defiance, threat and scorn at the principal hero of the drama.

The piece then in progress was explained to me as being one of the most popular Shakspearian tragedies of the national drama of Japan, and represented (as I afterwards discovered more in detail) a series of occurrences which happened in the interior of the imperial palace of the Siogoon at the beginning of the last century. The prince of Ako, the grand hero of the plot, attracted the jealous envy, and drew upon him the oft-repeated insults of a wicked rival at the court, the Prince Kotsouki, the author of his subsequent calamities, and the monstrous impersonation of all that was detestable amid the characters of the play. The former in a moment of passionate excitement unable to restrain his ire, drew his sword upon his adversary in the heat of quarrel, but replaced it in his scabbard before he had so far committed himself as to inflict any serious wound. By this rash act he

violated in the sacred precincts of the palace one of the fundamental laws of Japan, and incurred the penalty of death as a reparation of the insult to the majesty of the emperor. His rival and antagonist himself helped on the fatal catastrophe, and was appointed the official inspector and eye-witness of the closing tragic scene.

Seated in the centre of a hall and robed in the resplendent white silken vestment specially worn on such an occasion, the heroic prince had assembled around him a group of his faithful retainers and the members of his household. With his magnificent lady and her female attendants occupying their position on his side, he received the affectionate condolences of his family, and the tearful sympathy of his servants, waiting in calm magnanimity the expected formal sentence which was to seal his fate. The imperial missive soon arrived and was presented in due pomp. The fatal seal was opened, the letter disclosed its startling contents, and the severe sentence of self-inflicted death was read aloud in a voice of calm enduring fortitude. The women took an opportunity of retiring from the scene; and then followed in all its harrowing details the spectacle of the *Harakiri*, the "Self-disembowelment," — the "Happy Despatch" or national mode of legalised suicide in Japan. The rival plotting prince sat in a chair with another witness, expressly appointed to make their official report of the final scene. The rest of the assemblage, and the heroic prince of Ako himself, continued in their kneeling posture on the floor. The

moralising minstrel of the chorus struck his plaintive notes in unison with the sad scene. Surrounded by his faithful adherents and attendants, the hero of the tragedy delivered his harangue of quiet loyal submission to the imperial will, and of parting farewell to his household and friends. Long and solemn were the words of his address, and still and deep were the heaving sighs and weepings of the surrounding group, all on their knees, silent, and apparently engaged in prayer. The fatal short sword was drawn from its sheath and held aloft as he concluded his address. With firmly compressed lip and determined grasp of hand, he inflicted the deep mortal wound and deliberately drew the inserted blade across his abdomen. By a little adroit management of his robe and by secretly and gradually uncovering a portion of the red cloth of his inner dress, the actor contrived the appearance of having his white official costume deeply stained with the fast-flowing crimson blood. Extricating the sword, he retained it in his hand; and as the life-blood escaped from his body, he continued his impassioned harangue and bequeathed his last legacy of affectionate counsel to his family and friends. Gradually he became weaker, his voice was fainter, and nature was fast sinking. The spectators among the audience were carried away by the melancholy details of princely suffering, and intense sympathy was excited in the silent crowds on behalf of the fallen fortunes of the hero. The aged musician of the chorus first gave forth his commentary in a slow dirge-like air, and then sank down to a single slowly-

repeated note on his guitar, the recurring solitary twang of which resembled the minute-gun of death or imitated drop by drop the oozing out of life. There were the symptoms of approaching death, the gradual fainting and loss of strength, the spasmodic breathing and contortions of the neck. Speech at first became wellnigh inarticulate and at length entirely failed. After a few pantings for breath, nature could no longer prolong the struggle, and he fell prostrate on his forehead in all the established orthodox posture of heroic suicide, with the sword still firmly clenched in his hand, and with the marks of ignominious nervousness and fear excluded from the falling scene. A favourite attendant or best friend after a few moments' pause reverently approached the spot, and drew the closely-pressed weapon from the dead man's grasp. Life had fled; death received its victim; Japanese law had asserted its inviolable supremacy; and the sanctity of the imperial palace had been vindicated. The individual offender had offered up himself to appease the imperial anger; and by this legally-constituted form of suicide his family and descendants were preserved in the possession of their principality and lands and in untarnished rank and honour.

A temporary fall of the curtain, or (more strictly speaking) a sliding partition drawn from the sides to the middle of the stage, gave the opportunity of the corpse being laid out in state form. On the removal of the curtain, a norimon was standing on a prominent part of the stage, in which the body, washed and robed, was observed propped up by supports in

the sitting, crouching posture in which the Japanese are committed to the tomb. Pale, still and motionless in death, the deceased prince received the adoration of the living. His wife and female attendants reappeared on the scene; and took their place in a kneeling posture near the corpse. A large group of members of the family and friends of the deceased sat around the apartment reverentially bowing their head in grief and wrapt in deep silence. The funeral ceremonies were commenced by the disconsolate lady proceeding to the norimon and prostrating herself with bitter silent weeping before the body, adoring the departed spirit and observing the usual marks of divine worship to the manes of her husband. She then placed some offerings before the corpse; and cutting off her hair with a knife, placed the shorn locks as a pledge and vow of perpetual widowhood on the ground before him, reciting her prayers and having a rosary of beads suspended from her left arm. Each person present approached singly and in turn the corpse, and knelt in prayer to the departed spirit. At length the norimon is carried off in funeral procession; and amid the sobbings and lamentations of the little assemblage the curtain closes upon the melancholy scene of death.

The retainers of the deceased prince quickly reappear on the stage; and now commences an exciting episode of sanguinary plots and vindictive retribution. Long and animated are the debatings of the servants and dependents. Impassioned harangues are delivered and plans of vengeance are freely

discussed. One old half-witted domestic especially inveighed against the author of their lord's misfortunes and their own pusillanimous cowardice in failing to avenge his wrongs. Verging upon his second childhood, the old man returned to his topic with renewed ardour, and worked upon the passions of the group. After advancing a little way as if about to quit the apartment, he came back to pour forth anew the pent-up emotions of his loyal indignation and fidelity to his prince. A few comic incidents were interspersed and stirred up some passing merriment in the crowd of spectators after the recent scenes of mourning and death. Again the old man worked upon the passions of his hearers, and suddenly the whole body of retainers placed their hands with a violent outburst of anger to their sword-hilts and leaped on their feet. The work was done and the old man had achieved his part. A sense of honourable fidelity to their chief and passionate revenge stirred up their souls to madness. They rushed off the stage with some half-formed project of instant retribution. Again they were recalled by the aged man's appeal and formed a little conclave in deliberation on the details of their plot. The sequel was reported to me by a Japanese acquaintance, who expressed much regret that I should not have stayed to witness what he deemed the finest part of the tragedy. The shouts and clashings of armour, the uproar and applause, which during the whole afternoon afterwards greeted us in our apartments at the temple, informed our ears of the sanguinary issue. Revenge and a life for a life

enters into the very essence of poetical justice among the Japanese. The faithful adherents of the fallen prince imbrued their hands in the blood of his rival; and bearing off his head in triumph as an offering at the tomb to the manes of their loved hero, fell themselves in turn victims to the stern penalties of the law.

I afterwards discovered the following notice of the principal facts on which this national tragedy is founded, in M. Titsingh's Historical Annals of the Siogoons of Japan.

"On the fourteenth of the third month of the fourteenth year Gen-rok (A.D. 1701), Assan-no-takoumi-no-Naganori, prince of Ako, who had been several times treated contemptuously by Kira-kotsouki-no-ski, having received a fresh affront from him in the palace of the Siogoon, drew his sabre with the intention of revenging the insult. Some persons on hearing the noise, ran up and separated them, and Kotsouki was but slightly wounded. It is an unpardonable crime to draw a sabre in the palace; the prince was therefore ordered to rip himself up, and his descendants were banished for ever. His adversary who, out of respect for the palace, had abstained from drawing his sabre, was pardoned.

"This injustice exasperated the servants of the prince so much the more, since it was Kotsouki who, by his repeated insults, had caused the destruction of their master. Forty-seven of them, having agreed to revenge his death, forced their way in the night of the fourteenth of the twelfth moon of the following

year, into the palace of Kotsouki; and after a combat which lasted till daylight, they penetrated to his apartment and despatched him. The Siogoon, on the first intelligence of this desperate attack, sent troops to the assistance of the unfortunate Kotsouki, but they arrived too late to save him. The assailants, not one of whom lost his life in the scuffle, were all taken and condemned to rip up their bellies, which they did with the greatest firmness, satisfied with having revenged their master. They were all interred in the temple of Singakousi, near the prince. The soldiers, in token of respect for their fidelity, still visit their graves and pray before them. Kotsouki's son, who had been withheld by cowardice from hastening to the assistance of his father, though he was then in the palace, was deprived of his post and banished with all his kindred to the island of Awasi."

The incidents of their drama contain a remarkable exposition of the national life of the people. In the histories of their heroes, the "Harakiri" is the subject of all-attractive interest, and becomes almost a religious sentiment of romance. The few notices which follow have been collected together to furnish some further information on this peculiar feature in the Japanese character and national customs. Titsingh when writing on the "legal suicide of the Japanese" gives the following particulars some of which appear to have become partially obsolete, and others of which bear the stamp of manifest exaggeration.

"All military men, the servants of the Siogoon,

and persons holding civil offices under the government, are bound when they have committed any crime to rip themselves up, but not till they have received an order from the court to that effect; for, if they were to anticipate this order, their heirs would run the risk of being deprived of their places and property. For this reason all the officers of government are provided, in addition to their usual dress and that which they put on in case of fire, with a suit necessary on such an occasion, which they carry with them whenever they travel from home. It consists of a white robe and a habit of ceremony made of hempen cloth and without armorial bearings. The outside of the house is hung with white stuffs; for the palaces of the great and the places at which they stop by the way when going to or returning from Yeddo, are hung with coloured stuffs, on which their arms are embroidered—a privilege enjoyed also by the Dutch envoy.

"As soon as the order of the court has been communicated to the culprit, he invites his intimate friends for the appointed day, and regales them with *sakee*. After they have drunk together some time, he takes leave of them; and the order of the court is then read to him once more. Among the great this reading takes place in presence of their secretary and the inspector. The person who performs the principal part in the tragic scene then addresses a speech or compliment to the company; after which he inclines his head towards the mat, draws his sabre and cuts himself with it across the belly, penetrating the

bowels. One of his confidential servants, who takes his place behind him, then strikes off his head. Such as wish to display superior courage, after the cross cut inflict a second longitudinally, and then a third in the throat. No disgrace is attached to such a death; and the son succeeds to his father's place, as we see by several examples in the 'Memoirs of the Siogoons.'

"When a person is conscious of having committed some crime and apprehensive of being thereby disgraced, he puts an end to his own life, to spare his family the ruinous consequences of judicial proceedings. This practice is so common that scarcely any notice is taken of such an event. The sons of all people of quality exercise themselves in their youth for five or six years with a view that they may perform the operation in case of need with gracefulness and dexterity; and they take as much pains to acquire this accomplishment as youth among us do to become elegant dancers or skilful horsemen: hence the profound contempt of death which they imbibe even in their earliest years. This disregard of death, which they prefer to the slightest disgrace, extends to the very lowest classes among the Japanese."

Some of the concluding parts of this description bear on their very face a self-evident appearance of illusory exaggeration. The simple self-infliction of a death-wound can hardly require some five or six years' careful "practice." Some of our Japanese friends were questioned on these details, and more especially as to whether this mode of self-disembowel-

ment was "practised" among their boys. My interpreter put the question in a form which admitted of the ambiguity of the English term being translated into a correspondingly equivocal expression in the Japanese language. They answered in the affirmative that it was thus "practised" among boys; and if we had been satisfied with this simple affirmative reply, we should have mistaken their entire meaning, and helped to give a currency to this overdrawn picture of juvenile training in the graceful arts of suicidal etiquette. They stated that Japanese were accustomed to "practise" this feat of "Harakiri," though in a different sense from that in which we put the inquiry. The following fact which they related in illustration of their statement will give some idea of the ruthless sanguinary severity extending alike to old and young offenders which prevails in the dominions of the various sovereign princes of the empire. An interpreter to one of the local land-officers of Nagasaki asserted it to be a well-known and universally-believed fact that in the last year the neighbouring Prince of Satsuma had compelled five boys of ages varying from eight to thirteen years old to undergo the punishment of self-disembowelment for the offence of having drawn their swords and engaged in a fight within the precincts of his palace. The tale of the *five or six years' careful training* to perform the act with becoming gracefulness they treated with derisive jest.

Another of our acquaintances, a Japanese teacher, while admitting the fact that instruction as to the

approved style of performing the "Harakiri" enters into the course of juvenile training of every polished gentleman, afforded also additional particulars. He stated that two cross cuts were made over the abdomen, and one across the jugular vein on the neck; and that the act ought to be performed on an inverted mat overspread with a white covering. It is also a mark of heroic fortitude not to fall backward but forward on the face.

During my subsequent stay at Yeddo, in which capital there had been of late numerous cases of "Harakiri" consequent on the circumstances arising out of the assassination of the "Goteiro" or regent of the empire, I was informed that many of the ancient ceremonies attendant upon this horrible custom had fallen into desuetude, and their omission received the connivance of the higher authorities. Three centuries of exemption from war and a lengthened prevalence of peace are stated to have diminished the national prowess and mitigated the excessively sanguinary spirit of their code of honour. They are now less familiar with the deeds of martial valour, and have lost a portion of their former contempt of death. In deference to this imagined degeneracy of the present age, it is now customary for an attendant to carry the fatal sword before the intending victim, who bows his head in low reverence before the blade. The attendant then strikes off the head of his lord with one stroke of the weapon; and the ceremonies of the "Harakiri" are held to be adequately performed.

The following anecdote of Titsingh is also worth

being repeated, although it is to be hoped that it has now shared the fate of the unchristian custom of duelling in our own land, and now only finds its recurrence in the practice of men inordinately blood-thirsty and maddened by a desperate revenge.

"The Prince of Satsuma, whose subjects traffic to the Loochoo Islands and in all the principal commercial cities of the empire, with a view to prevent quarrels with other princes, has decreed that if one of his people is insulted by one of the subjects of another prince, he may revenge himself by killing his adversary, *provided he takes his own life immediately afterwards.* The lives of two persons who by their intolerant dispositions are the cause of their own destruction, seemed to him of too little importance to involve their masters in disputes which might be attended with fatal consequences."

The moralising reflections with which Titsingh follows up the anecdote on the influence of this law in producing politeness of demeanour among the people and diminishing the occasions of sanguinary quarrel, savour of the old plea in favour of duelling, and deserve equally the contempt of every reasonable and Christian man.

CHAP. X.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

MORTUARY AND FUNERAL RITES OF JAPANESE. — DESCRIPTION BY A NATIVE INFORMANT. — CORONER'S INQUEST. — MODE OF SEPULTURE. — ASCENDING AND DESCENDING RELATIVES. — POSTHUMOUS NAMES. — SERVICES OF PRIESTHOOD. — ANCESTRAL TABLET. — ACCOUNTS OF DUTCH WRITERS. — SPECTACLE OF JAPANESE FUNERAL NEAR TEMPLE LODGING. — PERIOD OF MOURNING AND DEFILEMENT. — FEAR OF GHOSTS.

THE occasional sight of a heathen body committed to the grave amid mournful regrets unaccompanied by the neutralising solaces of Christian hope, is one calculated to deepen in a Christian spectator an affecting sense of pity and compassion, and forms a frequent and sorrowful drawback on the pleasurable emotions excited by an exploratory visit in a new and interesting pagan country.

There are few things more calculated to afford an insight into the character of a nation than their demeanour amid the solemnising realities of death and their ceremonial observances at the funerals of the dead. Some notice of the mortuary and funeral rites of the Japanese will therefore be given in order to furnish an exemplification of this principle of judging the native disposition. I shall first give almost verbatim the statements of an educated Ja-

panese on this subject. I shall next subjoin a few of the notices of former Dutch residents on the same point. And I shall lastly append my own description of a funeral which took place near our dwelling and which I had an opportunity of observing in detail.

Urishino Te-ju is a Japanese physician, privileged as such to wear the ornament of a single sword which is the essential appendage of a medical practitioner's full dress, but for which on ordinary occasions it is usual to substitute a short stick carried in the place of the sword as a badge or emblem of his professional or social standing. He is at the present time the native instructor of my host in the Japanese language; and is induced by the powerful consideration of a daily honorarium of a silver *itzebu* (about twenty pence) to brave the little loss of social position and self-respect involved in this connection with a foreign student. He probably disarms the local government officials of a portion of their distrust by acting as informer or spy respecting the proceedings of foreigners. This native gentleman often supplied us with interesting facts which served as data on which to ground general conclusions respecting the habits and customs of the people. This class of teachers soon become intimate friends of their foreign employer; and if care be taken not to involve them in unpleasant relations towards the native authorities, they will readily impart the required information, and render themselves useful auxiliaries in investigating the peculiarities of native customs.

Our medical friend was my principal authority for the following statement of facts.

When death has visited a Japanese family, the relatives of the deceased despatch a messenger to some Budhist temple to fetch a priest, who visits the dwelling and performs certain rites over the corpse. At this first visit the priest offers up prayers in the usual unintelligible Indian Palee tongue, and proceeds to hold a kind of coroner's inquest over the dead body, making inquiry into the causes of death, more especially as to whether the deceased has died from natural causes or by violence. If there be reason for suspecting that his death has been produced by unfair means, the priest is bound to refer the matter to the head priest or abbot of his temple, who in turn reports it to the civil authorities and places the matter in train for a judicial investigation. After the departure of the priest, the relatives cause the dead body to be washed with warm water, and make the necessary preparations for placing it in the round circular coffin or tub in which the corpse is deposited in a crouching posture with the palms folded in front in the attitude of devotion. It is then left for a period of from one to four days in the house, during which time the priest (if the family be in good circumstances and able to pay a fee of an itzebu or less) returns to the house and resumes his prayers and incantations, reciting some Budhist office with the customary beating of a hollow sounding-board and the tinkling of a bell in measured time of stroke. During the interval between death and the

day of the funeral, there is a gathering of friends, who are regaled with vegetables and sweetmeats. No fish, flesh or fowl is eaten during this time. A solemn offering of confectionary, water and salt is made each day to the deceased. The corpse is then carried to the place of sepulture by common coolie bearers, attended by his relatives, friends and acquaintances, who first go in procession to some temple on the way, and then follow the coffin to its last resting-place. The female relatives are all clothed in white garments and white caps drawn down so as to muffle their faces. The sons are differently arrayed in a peculiar garment of a full-dress character covering half the body and hanging down from the shoulders, with a coarse kind of under-garment resembling sackcloth. All the male acquaintances wear the usual holiday attire of Japanese gentry and officials on visits of ceremony. After the temple services are finished, the corpse is again borne onward to the grave on the shoulders of the coolies, followed by the funeral procession of mourners. The place of burial does not involve (as in China) a period of long delay and the trickery of paid necromancers employed to discover a lucky spot free from the hurtful influences of wind and water. Each family has its own common mausoleum in which the successive members of the clan are laid to repose amid the bodies of their ancestors. Armorial bearings and devices mark their common property, and enlist all their sentiments of affection and family pride in its preservation from dirt, decay and contamination. The sons, the female

members of the household, and the nearest relatives on arriving at the grave are permitted by prescriptive fashion to weep; but the Chinese custom of hiring female mourners to indulge in frantic wailings and cries is stated not to prevail at Nagasaki. The manliness and naturalness of the Japanese character is observable in such details as these. The coffin is deposited in the grave; and sometimes a second coffin is lowered into the circular hole on the top of a previous coffin. A stone slab is placed in front of the tomb with two holes for inserting flowers on either side of a square cavity for holding water. A lotus flower, one of the sacred symbols of Budhism, is carved on the basement of the stone pillar afterwards erected over the tomb. The principal part of the offerings to the dead are made in the house of each family. An ancestral tablet (wei-pae) is formed in the usual Chinese fashion of a little wooden plane or slab a few inches high by two or three inches in width, on which after due invocation by the priest the names which the man bore when alive are inscribed on one side, and the posthumous names conferred on him at the temple are written on the other. The latter side stands fronting outward on the family shrine in which the household gods are enthroned. The prayers of the priest transform the spirit of the deceased into a Budha of inferior class; and the tablet receives every morning the usual worship in common with the family idol. All these domestic religious observances are performed with greater punctuality and more

signs of earnest sincerity than among the Chinese. In reply to our question "Whom do you worship?" the educated Japanese invariably reply—"The first thing we do in the morning is to worship the *Kami* (the gods); and after that we worship the ancestral tablet. We worship both objects of devotion; but the worship which we pay to the *Kami* is of a much higher kind." Their belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is merely the old Budhist metempsychosis, varied by the imaginary details of purgatory. They say that bad men go to hell—*Te-yoh*, "Earth's prison;" and good men go to *keih-loh*, "infinite happiness."

Our native friend stated that the burning of corpses is never at the present time practised at Nagasaki; but that it is universally practised at Miako (the capital of the Spiritual Emperor) as being a sacred city and too small a locality to contain the bodies of its numerous dead, unless consumed by fire and reduced to ashes, so as to be capable of being buried within a small space.

The funeral observances of the Japanese are represented by various former Dutch writers as of a far more complicated and detailed nature. They speak of two kinds of funerals; the *doso*, which consists in depositing the body in the earth; and the *quaso*, which consists in committing it to the flames. A Japanese at the point of death signifies to his heir which mode of burial he prefers and gives directions as to the disposal of his body. Sometimes this wish is communicated during the season of full health.

If a Japanese at Nagasaki express a wish to have his body consumed by fire, his corpse is borne to the summit either of Kasougasira or of Fondesi-yama, two mountains in the neighbourhood, the former situated on the south-east, the latter on the north of the city. The coffin is first carried to a temple for the performance of the usual funeral solemnities, and thence followed by the relatives and friends to the top of the mountain, where it is burnt by a low class of persons named *ombos*. The bones and ashes are collected in an urn; a priest precedes the funeral *cortège;* the urn with its contents is carried back to be deposited in the family mausoleum; and the usual ceremonies common to both kinds of burial are performed.

The formal etiquette at funerals prescribed in their books of national customs abounds with detailed observances not commonly to be seen among the people of Nagasaki, who are said to have been corrupted by intermixture and association with Chinese and other foreigners, and to have degenerated from the purity and simplicity of primitive times. The common people too everywhere are unwilling or unable to incur the expense of these detailed ceremonies. In the funerals of the higher classes the corpse is borne in a *quan* or coffin to a temple where the priests are assembled to receive the procession. The coffin is set down before the image of the gods, and a Budhist hymn is chaunted. The "ifay," the oblong tablet covered with the sacred posthumous names of the deceased, is placed before

the coffin, and offerings of sweetmeats, fruit and flowers are placed in front. Relatives in the ascending line and of senior age are absolved from attending the funerals of their kindred of inferior degree. If a son is carried forth to the tomb, neither father, mother, uncles nor aunts are accustomed to follow him to the grave. If a younger son dies, even the elder brother and elder daughter abstain from accompanying the funeral.

During the fifty days of mourning for the dead the surviving relatives are supposed to abstain from animal food and to subsist entirely on a vegetable diet. After the expiration of that time they are permitted to re-enter Budhist temples; but an interval of one year must elapse before they may enter the temples of the Sinto religion, which deems the inmates of a household visited by death as defiled by pollution for that space of time. A period of seven weeks after the funeral elapses before the temporary furniture of the tomb is removed to make way for the more permanent erection of the *si-sek* or grave stone. During this interval persons who possess the pecuniary means cause a hut to be built near the grave, where a servant is stationed for the purpose of noting down the names of all those friends of the family who have come thither to pray. Titsingh naïvely adds, "His presence serves to protect the quan (coffin) and other things from being *stolen* during the seven weeks." Every week a priest is hired to attend and recite hymns before the funeral wooden tablet. During the whole seven weeks in all states of the weather the

son of the deceased daily visits the tomb and recites a prayer over the grave, covered with a hat made of rushes, which falling down below the shoulders obscures his face and prevents him, while recognising other men's features, from being himself recognised and greeted by his passing friends. He suffers his hair and nails to grow during the whole prescribed period of fifty days' mourning, and never leaves the house, which is kept closed, except for the purpose of making the stated visits to the temples and the tomb. At the close of the fifty days he lays aside his mourning attire and proceeds to pay his respects at the houses of those who attended the funeral or afterwards went to pray at the grave. At the same time two other ifays or funeral tablets are made, varnished with a black colour and covered with gilt ornamental characters, inscribed with the names of the deceased and the year, month and day of his death. One of these is consigned for safe custody to the priests in the temple; the other is kept at home and occupies its honourable position on the family shrine, where (as before described) it receives the prayers of the household in common with the images of their gods. A lamp is kept constantly burning before it; morning and evening prayers are offered to it; and on the one day of each month on which the deceased quitted life special offerings are made of fruits, sweetmeats, tea and boiled rice.

About a fortnight after my arrival at Nagasaki an opportunity was afforded me of witnessing the actual celebration of a funeral in one of the family cemc-

teries which have converted the hill on which I resided into the great graveyard of the city. An hour or two before sunset a funeral procession was seen wending its slow way through the series of temple courts at the foot of the hill below us. The coffin was borne first into a temple of the Ikkoshiu sect of Budhists for the celebration of some superstitious rites. Thence it was carried a little way to the foot of the ascending stone steps leading up the hill-side, at which point there was a second detention. The priest here renewed the ceremonies, and offered up some prayer or form of incantation. Thence the coffin was borne with a train of followers up the paved pathway, lined on either side with lighted candles, to the family mausoleum, which was a space about twenty or thirty feet square surrounded by walls and containing around its sides the sepulchral monuments of the forefathers of the clan. The deceased was the wife of an official gentleman, who was prevented by Japanese etiquette from being present at the burial of his wife as being an inferior relative, although it is the custom for wives to attend at the funerals of their husbands. About twenty persons followed the coffin with clean-shaven heads and in holiday attire. Two of them bore the usual insignia of an official person in the two swords which hung from their left girdle, and the majority wore the single sword of an ordinary gentleman.

The deceased had died two days previously, and on the preceding day received her new posthumous name from the priesthood to be inscribed on her funeral

tablet. This little wooden upright plane (the ifay) was carried before the coffin, and a stick or wand wrapped round with white cotton cloth preceded the corpse, apparently in imitation of the Chinese custom of inducting the spirit into its new abode of the tomb. A kind of *kagoo* or portable swinging box used for travelling, was deposited before the place of sepulture. A few wooden pegs were loosened; and the kagoo relieved of its movable false bottom was lifted upwards, leaving the circular wooden coffin resembling a tub or barrel exposed to view on the ground. In a corner of the cemetery in a row and on a level with the other grave-stones of the enclosure, a round pit four or five feet in depth and nearly a yard in diameter had been dug and well plastered with mortar within. The corpse confined in its sitting posture was lowered into it by a set of noisy coolies shouting and vociferating irreverently all the while. The white wand and an earthenware pot of powdered charcoal were deposited in the grave, the jar being first broken and suffered to spread its black contents around the coffin, apparently as a preservative from the effects of putrefaction. The little vault was then covered over with three flat slabs of stone; a few smaller fragments of stone were fitted into the crevices; a quantity of mortar was plentifully laid on; and the whole was carefully plastered and rendered air-tight and weather-proof. The earth was then filled in on the top, and the whole levelled even with the surrounding graves. The kagoo which had recently contained the coffin was then placed

over the grave with an outer roofed covering resembling a little hut. Within this some artificial lotus flowers and water-lilies were placed; evergreen boughs and a trough filled with water were added; the tablet inscribed with the posthumous religious names of the deceased was set up; the *sioko* or small box for burning incense was duly arranged; and little lamps and tapers were lighted.

During this process the party of friends who by conventionality only could be called mourners, readily entered into conversation with us, and deprecated our leaving the funeral assemblage under the impression of their not liking publicity and exposure to foreigners' observation while engaged in a religious ceremony. They soon undeceived us by their actions, as well as by their words. They were engaged in smoking their pipes and talking unconcernedly all the time, apparently pleased to gratify our curiosity amid the passing scene, and asking many questions in their turn. The coolies, on the completion of their work of filling the grave, closed their palms and bowed their heads, after which they retired. The family group alone remained. The principal mourner, the nephew of the deceased, a two-sworded gentleman of from forty to forty-five years of age, proceeded in a business-like manner to light a bundle of incense-sticks which he divided among the company. He then knelt before the tomb and waved the incense-sticks before the wooden tablet, bending his forehead so as nearly to touch the ground and offering up a silent prayer. The rest of the company in succession per-

formed singly the same ceremony; and they then left in a body. At the bottom of the hill we observed them exchanging a few words with a party of Japanese women on their way to the same tomb to perform their separate offering to the dead, clothed in white garments and wearing a long head-dress of white cloth. The priest afterwards reappeared on the scene and continued his forms of incantation. On subsequent days as we passed the spot, the incense-sticks arranged in the figure of a long and almost interminable coil and circle within circle were observed still burning.

Flowers and fruit were renewed from time to time. At the end of fifty days the wooden shelter was to be removed; and the usual substantial stone monument would be raised over the spot so as to comprise also within its margin the vacant site hereafter destined to receive the body of the surviving husband. One common monument would then bear the double inscription commemorating the names and dates of both.

Sometimes immense incense-sticks extending several hundred feet in length, and wound up coil within coil, are to be seen in the temples, burning at a slow rate and capable of lasting for many months without danger of being extinguished. A very extensive business is carried on in incense materials, the manufacture of which gives employment to considerable numbers of people in Nagasaki. In one shop and manufactory which we visited some six or eight persons were engaged in manipulating these implements of idolatrous service in most expert and expeditious style. Some sandal-wood dust was made into a wet

pastelike consistency and passed through a press, from which it oozed forth in long shreds of uniform size. These were taken off on boards, rearranged in regular rows and lengths, and then put forth to dry in the sun. The quantity of this fragrant composition sold among the people is a remarkable proof of the wide prevalence of this mode of religious observance in every class of the native population.

As we returned from our stroll into the city during the same evening, a woman-servant followed us with some native articles purchased at a shop in a remote street. She kept at some little distance from us until our arrival at the ascent of the hill among the numerous grave enclosures about the time of evening dusk. She then suddenly pressed upon us in great alarm, and appeared afraid to be left even a yard's distance in our rear. She seemed so overpowered by the terror of ghosts that we were compelled to take her between us and to escort her safely up the hill. Amid all her expressions of fear, she from time to time indulged in hearty fits of laughter. No inducement could persuade her to return by the same way, and we arranged to send her home by another route through a series of temple courts into the streets below.

CHAP. XI.

NATIVE VISITORS.

SCENES OF TEMPLE LIFE.—THE PRIEST RIN-SHAN.—DOUCEURS TO NATIVE AUTHORITIES.—IMPARTIALITY OF JAPANESE LAW.—EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNMENT.—PRIEST VISITORS.—TWO-SWORDED OFFICERS.—NATIVE INTERPRETER.—NATIVE DISPOSITION AND CHARACTER.—DOCTOR KASATU.—A JAPANESE SURGERY.—DETAILS OF A NATIVE GENTLEMAN'S COSTUME.—UNIVERSAL THIRST FOR INFORMATION AND PURCHASE OF FOREIGN BOOKS.

My prolonged stay of above five weeks in the So-f-ku-ji monastery brought me into daily contact with various novel incidents of Japanese life, and supplied me with many opportunities of observing the peculiar modes of thought and habits of the people. Japanese priests, physicians, teachers and officials of the lower grades, with a few Chinese mercantile traders, were among our frequent visitors in the temple; and although their visits were sometimes extended to an inconvenient length, I had an ample compensation in their communicativeness and willingness to afford information. My friend Mr. Williams was my interpreter on such occasions.

The monastery belonged to the Tenshu sect of Budhists, who adhere to the primitive austerities of their religion and prohibit their priests from marrying. It covers a considerable space on the

hill-side and contains several out-temples detached from the main temple and placed each under the special charge of a monk, who resides in the smaller temple and regards it as his peculiar benefice. Our own dwelling was one of these lesser detached temples, in which our friend the monk Rinshan formerly resided as incumbent, but in which we were now lodged for a monthly payment. No idols were now visible, and we were left in peaceful and undisturbed possession of our quarters. Wayfarers from the city used to stop a little while as they passed the entrance to our court-yard in the hope of seeing foreign features and an outlandish garb. The blast of horns, the beating of a drum and the tinkling of a bell at early matins, sometimes awoke us from our slumbers long before dawn of day. The loud clangour of gongs, and the occasional sonorous peal of a large massive bell struck by a wooden beam propelled with a swinging motion against the outer rim, informed our ears of the more special seasons of religious assemblage. The temple-bell was clapperless and the belfry was on a level with the ground. Our two Chinese servants acted each in the capacity of *major-domo* to their respective masters, superintending our household and looking after our room. Two Japanese servants acted under their direction as coolies and under-cooks, and the whole establishment appeared to work together harmoniously and in order.

Game, though out of season, was very welcome food to Europeans in a land where beef and mutton are comparatively unknown. Pork is easily

procurable, and fish of excellent quality is abundant. The latter however is a somewhat dangerous article of food and requires great care in the selection. One species of fish, resembling a small mackerel, is apt to convey some poisonous matter into the human system and to produce a violent attack of the most prevalent form of tropical ailments. The officers and crews of some of the ships in Commodore Perry's expedition were seized with severe sickness from this cause, and fish was interdicted from being used as food on board. I was myself attacked by an illness after eating fish, which confined me for two or three days to my bed.

The green-breasted and red copper-breasted species of pheasants were frequently brought to us for sale; and the former supplied my most frequent material of food for dinner. A European may easily procure all necessary supplies of wholesome food at a small cost; and in the vicinity of every English mercantile settlement the wants of foreigners soon become known, and the ordinary laws of demand and supply begin to operate with speedy and advantageous effect. The Japanese servants soon learn a foreigner's tastes and are apt and ready imitators of the culinary accomplishments of Chinese or European cooks. No Englishman coming to settle in Japan need therefore trouble himself under the apprehension of any great inconvenience or privation in the matter of food. Europeans abroad in the East learn quickly to accommodate themselves to the easy pic-nic usages and appliances of a Japanese abode.

Reverting to our friend and landlord, the priest Rinshan, I may introduce him to the reader as a highly respectable specimen of a pagan monk. He bears a good character in the neighbourhood. Popular rumour, often busy at the expense of the moral character of most of the priests, refrains from aspersions on the good name of Rinshan. He seems to be a sincere man, diligent in the performance of his supposed priestly duties, and true to his vows of monastic celibacy. From early youth an inmate of the monastery, he has passed his life in idle seclusion, having few wants and knowing few of the cares or the pleasures of the world. In the whole monastery and outlying establishments there are an abbot and about twenty ordinary priests. Among the latter are included both the adult priests and their young pupils passing their boyhood in a term of noviciate under the tuition of the elder monks. Formerly there were between thirty and forty priests in all; but the Chinese traders in Nagasaki, to whom the principal temple in the court below specially belongs, have in recent times greatly degenerated in zeal for idolatry, and Rinshan laments the consequent diminution in their offerings and the loss to the temple revenues. On one of his visits he was accompanied by three gentlemen of middle age whom he wished to introduce to us as his personal friends. An elderly lady also accompanied them, who was announced to us as the wife of a priest of one of the non-celibate sects of Budhists occupying a temple in our neighbourhood. They stayed some time examining articles

of European manufacture and gratifying their curiosity. The lady seemed quite at ease in visiting abroad without the protection of her husband, and appeared to be a person of honourable repute. The priests too of the different sects of Budhism appear to be actuated by no hostility or jealousy, mingling freely in daily intercourse and interchanging good offices. Although Rinshan himself participates in this absence of bigotry, he sometimes utters insinuations and doubts against some of the other priests, and leaves us under the impression of his cherishing no very favourable thoughts of their moral strictness of life.

Although religious scruples form no barrier to their letting a portion of their temple to a foreign tenant, it may be imagined that fear of the local authorities may sometimes operate as a check to their willingness to admit foreigners into a lodging. This difficulty is, however, remedied by the priests giving the government officials a per-centage on the rents. Out of twelve dollars a month received by Rinshan for our quarters, he gave at the commencement three dollars a month to the deputy vice-governor of the city. Another missionary Mr. Verbeck, living in a house at the foot of our hill, pays twelve dollars a month as rent to a military officer, who willingly for this high rate gave up his dwelling to a foreigner, and pays probably only three dollars a month for an equally good house elsewhere, the native authorities receiving a small monthly douceur to bribe them into a silent acquiescence and connivance at the

deed. Rinshan was particularly anxious in his inquiries whether I wanted a second lodging and whether I should ever revisit Japan, recommending me to change my quarters and to remove into a cooler summer residence in an out-temple higher up the hill. He explained to us the various parts of the priestly robe, especially the *kesu* — the Buddhist hood hanging over a priest's shoulders — which he stated to have been used in ancient times as a pouch for begging rice, but now ordinarily worn as a silken ornament of dress. He asserts that the priests have regularly devoted themselves to their sacred calling, not from poverty or compulsion, but at the wish of their parents or from voluntary choice. The boy-priests are not sold to become the property of the monasteries, but are voluntarily dedicated by their parents to the priestly profession. Even in the more respectable ranks of society the priesthood is regarded as an honourable calling for a son in the family.

He once came to my host with the Chinese characters for *Teen choo keaou*, the "religion of the Lord of Heaven," — the specific term by which the Roman Catholic form of Christianity is designated, — and requested to know if we belonged to the same religion. He inquired also about the *hwui-hwui keaou* — the "Mahomedan religion;" also concerning the Dominicans, the Jesuits and the Virgin Mary, and received with satisfaction his explanation of the difference in the more prominent doctrines and practices of our religion. On various occasions the old

Japanese abhorrence of Roman Catholic Christianity makes itself perceptible in the conversation of native visitors; and the opposition and hatred evinced by the Japanese government is more the result of political fear than the prompting of an essentially religious persecution.

The open publicity with which respectable Japanese visit us without fear of their local rulers is probably due to the fact that the squeezing extortions of Chinese mandarins are comparatively unpractised in Japan. The *law* is obeyed and extends equal protection to all. The dualism or double system of government, while it is full of absurd anomalies and prolific in arts of duplicity, possesses also the counter-advantage of establishing mutual checks to control the dishonest or unjust practices of the subordinate magistrates in the remotest parts. Espionage makes the central government well acquainted with every act of its agents. The Imperial Court becomes immediately acquainted with the malpractices of an unjust, corrupt or extortionate officer. Even custom-house officers are taken from different districts and provinces, as a preventive of secret collusion and a means of mutual control. A general combination of large numbers of officials through all the descending and ascending gradations of rank is necessary before public injustice can be practised with impunity and wicked magistrates can protect each other in a secret course of unjust administration. A public grievance or a popular discontent is certain to be forthwith reported at Yedo; and

the secret agency of government controllers and spies brings a sure retribution on the ill-doer and a speedy rectification of the wrong.

With all these facts before us, we do not probably err far from the truth in saying that Japanese law affords a fair security for protecting the life, property and liberty of its subjects; and that Japan enjoys the pre-eminence of possessing one of the most effective governments for the repression of crime throughout the pagan world.

On various occasions other priests from the neighbouring temples called to make our acquaintance; and sometimes a married woman would form one of our company. One priest's wife came to our lodging in order to make known to us a specific for sore eyes and to offer for sale some boxes of salve, for which she had a high repute. Some neighbouring tradesmen brought thin plates of mother-of-pearl taken from the oyster-shell and ground down to a smooth surface on a hone. All of them showed eager curiosity in inquiring about foreign nations; but both priests and ladies sometimes addressed questions as to our domestic mode of life the reverse of complimentary to our moral character, and indicating an utterly blunted state of their own moral sense.

Among the acquaintances who paid us a visit was a Japanese physician who sent in his name in ordinary European writing and with the Dutch word for "physician" attached, all inscribed on paper and in imitation of a foreigner's card.

One of our visitors on another evening was an

official gentleman lately arrived from Yeddo, and an acquaintance of my host. He was probably a spy in the employment of the government for watching foreigners and reporting our proceedings. He was particularly anxious to know the nature of my office and the object of my visit to Japan. My friend informed him that my work in China was to superintend a body of religious teachers engaged in instructing people at Hongkong and in other parts of China; that our religion inculcated the practice of virtue, truth and righteousness; that I visited Japan in order to exhort my countrymen to a sense of their duty in observing the holy precepts of our religion; and that we ardently desired to see the Japanese partakers of the benefits which the Christian religion was designed to confer. He listened attentively, and then with genuine courtesy replied:—"The religion of Jesus is very good."

About the same time I met in the house of an English acquaintance two other officials connected with the land regulations in the sale of building sites to foreigners. One of them was accustomed to act as interpreter, and spoke the Chinese mandarin dialect as well as a little English. He asked if our religion was the same as the Roman Catholic religion; and was informed in reply of the considerable difference which subsists between our religion, "the religion of Jesus," and the Roman Catholic religion, "the religion of the Lord of Heaven." He inveighed against the malpractices of the professors of the latter religion and the troubles they had caused in former times to

the Japanese nation. My answer naturally was to the effect that Protestant Christians did not desire to meddle with political affairs in Japan, and that our doctrines referred more to the moral duties of private life than to interference in matters of state policy. He asked me to hear him pronounce some English words. He jerked out with some effort the word "concert," and after some renewed endeavours of correct pronunciation, he interpreted its meaning in Chinese *shang-leang*, by which I found that he was vainly trying to pronounce the word "consult." Some of the interpreters speak English with tolerable correctness; and every Japanese youth is eagerly ambitious of acquiring the English language.

One of our visitors at the temple was a priest partially intoxicated with sakee, and anxious to open some trading connection with foreigners in disposing of a considerable supply of pearls from some brother-priests in a remote interior district of the country. Intoxication is so frequent a spectacle that even a partially intoxicated priest ceased to create any surprise after a few weeks' acquaintance with the habits of the people.

Another company of our visitors at the temple was a two-sworded gentleman accompanied by four adult women, all married and unaccompanied by their husbands, the non-seclusion of the female sex and the custom of blackening their teeth on their marriage giving greater locomotive freedom to Japanese women than what is usual elsewhere in Asiatic countries. They had all made a call at our dwelling, and we

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met them descending the hill. They returned with us to the temple and spent a considerable portion of the evening in examining European views through a stereoscopic apparatus. The gentleman was a native of Yeddo, and probably a spy. He was anxious to learn English and had been for some little time the pupil of our missionary friend Mr. Verbeck. On the present occasion he was excited by drinking, and left a gourd-bottle of sakee secreted outside the entrance to our room. He made continual efforts to pronounce English words, but with little success in his present state of semi-stupefaction from the effects of alcohol. He grew by degrees almost rude in his familiarities, shouting "Mister, Inglees (English) ah, ah, ah," with a loud peal of laughter, and once or twice proceeding to pat my host on the back in patronising style. The women were exceedingly modest and well-behaved. They wore on their heads hair-pins made of horn or of silver, with other petty ornaments and an artificial flower. One of the younger women was the married daughter of an elderly lady present, and carried her infant in her arms. It has been generally asserted that Japanese women do not value precious stones, jewellery or trinkets. This younger woman however wore such ornaments as her pecuniary means afforded, having a silver-washed ring set with a large black bead of native workmanship on the fourth finger of her left hand, and a similar ring set with a star of seven imitation-rubies of Dutch manufacture on the fourth finger of her right hand. Although it is true

that Japanese ladies are not generally decorated with jewels and gold ornaments, yet not a few of the middle class of Japanese women wear metal rings, placing great value on a steel purse-ring given by a foreigner and showing great eagerness to possess a bright gilt button. Even a sixpence or a franc-piece is sometimes set in a native ring, and prized by the ladies of Nagasaki.

The general impression left on my mind by our native visitors and neighbours was that they are a friendly race of people, accessible, frank, manly, energetic and polite; not very truthful and the reverse of temperate, if our views of temperance be formed after the standard of Asiatic and not of European habits. That they are inordinately addicted to drinking sakee and that this alcoholic drink produces the speedy effect of intoxication is undoubtedly true. It is also not less true that the intoxicating effects of their sakee continue only for a few hours and wear off more rapidly than the effects of drunkenness among Europeans. While under its effects they are excited to foolish acts and words: if far gone in intoxication, they become disorderly, riotous and noisy, reeling in their walk and stammering in their speech. The strangest phenomenon consists in the fact that even during the same day they may partially regain a state of sobriety, and that the physical effects are not generally so permanently abiding as in western countries. The physician of the Dutch factory mentions however the fact of sakee-drinking producing, even after these deductions, very prejudicial consequences to the

general health and average duration of life among the people of the city.

One of my most intimate acquaintances was a Japanese doctor of the name of Kasatu, who lived in the centre of the city and sometimes exchanged visits with us, making himself useful in purchasing for us copies of native books and maps. On our first visit to him at his own home, we were conducted to an outer apartment which formed his dispensary, around the sides of which were arranged cabinets with little drawers filled with medical herbs and compounds, and duly distinguished by Chinese labels. We were afterwards led into his inner room in which his professional library stood. We noticed several volumes published in Chinese; among them the valuable medical work in four volumes composed by Dr. Hobson and printed at the expense of a high Chinese functionary at Canton. It has received also the high distinction of being republished by Japanese imperial authority in the religious capital at Miako. There were also some native works on surgery, probably taken from the Dutch, and containing anatomical diagrams and figures of the various parts of the human frame. We were seated on the ground; or rather, as a Japanese apartment is generally altogether destitute of any article of furniture, we had to sit on our knees and heels on the cleanly-swept well-stuffed frames of oblong square matting let into the slightly raised floor. A patient or the messenger from a patient (for his appearance scarcely denoted sickness) soon entered to consult the doctor. He bowed

very low towards the ground and our medical friend returned the compliment with an equally low bending of his body. Each again renewed the reverent inclination of head and person; and then the business of consultation commenced. The visitor detailed the symptoms of the case, and our friend the doctor took down a volume from his pile of books, in which he perused a few pages and studied the principles of Japanese medical science. The required remedy was prescribed, and tea was served to the stranger and to ourselves, after which he took his departure with the usual salutation of bowings to the ground. When a Japanese wishes to make a very reverential bow to his superior, he places his palms on the upper part of both thighs, and in this posture bends his head so as nearly to touch his knees.

The doctor's wife was present with us in the room, taking her part in the conversation and assisting her husband in paying attention to his guests. She handed to us a paper packet of gingerbread cakes and sweetmeats; and whatever portion we failed to consume on the spot, she insisted on our taking to our homes. We afterwards made a liberal distribution among the juvenile portion of the persons whom we met in the adjoining street. Both his wife and daughter-in-law paid an occasional visit to our temple-dwelling.

Doctor Kasatu soon returned our visit and brought some native books which we had commissioned him to purchase. He left his slippers at the door and walked with his bare white stockings into the room. A little metal inkstand with the accompanying apparatus of

pen and writing materials in a case, hung suspended from his belt. The tobacco-pipe with steel, flint and matches occupied its usual place on the belt. A pocket-book and fan were suspended from the same girdle, which also confined in its proper place on his left side a short sword with black unadorned hilt without a guard and encased in a dark-coloured finely-polished lacquered wood sheath. The description of his dress will serve as a fair sample of that of an ordinary Japanese gentleman. His head was entirely shaven, the usual mark of distinction peculiar to the higher class of medical practitioners who have obtained a medical diploma or licence at Miako. His inner robe consisted of a rich blue or purple gown of shot silk, with a round folded collar meeting over the breast, reaching down to the feet and well wrapped in free folds around the legs so as to answer the purpose of a pair of trousers. Small pieces of thin paper served instead of a pocket-handkerchief, and after being used were stowed away in the capacious folds of the sleeve closed at the extremity of the cuff and thus resembling a pocket. A shorter robe resembling a deep spencer and of a black colour, was hung over the inner robe, containing large loose sleeves and decorated with five white spots marked with the armorial device of his family. These marks consisted of some flower, a geometrical figure or some other fancifully wrought monogram, which serve to distinguish every man as he walks along the streets and proclaim to every beholder the family to which he belongs. They

occupy a conspicuous position in the dress and must facilitate the recovery of stolen garments, being wrought into the texture of the fabric, one in the centre of the back under the neck and midway between the shoulders, two on the front parts of the arm on the sleeves, and the remaining two being placed on either side of the bosom. Only official men of the higher grades on occasions of special ceremony wear the long loose silken trousers open from the hip downwards and confined at the ankle. Ordinary gentlemen have no other covering for their legs than the loose folds of their inner dress. The common people are a trouserless race, and almost entire nudity is the usual habit of the lower classes of Japanese. Among all classes, except priests and doctors, the front part and the crown of the head are shaved, and the hair on the side and back of the head is collected into a top-knot, glued with a kind of bandoline and plaited into an artificial comb with its end bent upwards, neatly fastened and projecting forwards. Sometimes only the crown is shaved, and the fore-locks are drawn backwards into the central comb. The women wear their jet-black hair gathered tightly over the temples and forehead, and carried back so as to form a high tufted crown, through which large metal hair-pins are passed.

Our medical visitor brought us some professional works published at Miako, and exchanged with me a copy of Dr. Hobson's work published in that city for one which I had brought with me from China. He asked also (a most unusual request for a Japanese

to make) for a copy of St. Luke's gospel in the Katagana Japanese character published at Hongkong, for which he proffered payment, but which I induced him to receive as a present. He asked if it was translated by a Japanese and on hearing that it was the work of a foreigner, commended the style. Among the Chinese books which he requested of us was a "History of England" by Rev. W. Muirhead of Shanghae.

A considerable demand for foreign books published in Chinese and imported from the consular ports of China, has been excited at Nagasaki; and during my stay a large consignment arrived from China of these publications at the request of Mr. Verbeck. An *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. is levied on imported books by the provisions of recent treaties. If the Japanese custom-house officials and the European importer cannot agree on the declared amount of value, the Japanese officers propose a certain estimated sum to which the foreign importer assents; or if he refuses to accede, the Japanese are bound themselves to purchase the books at the specified price. The following list of the Chinese works required for sale will give some idea of the spirit of inquiry respecting foreign nations which has begun to prevail:—

"Herschel's Astronomy" in three volumes by Mr. Wylie of Shanghae. 50 copies.

"The Christian Almanack" for 1860, the former half containing an abstract of Christian doctrine with general history.

"Circle of Knowledge," a schoolbook in Chinese and English, by Dr. Legge of Hongkong. 20 copies.

"History of England" by Mr. Muirhead of Shanghae. 2 copies.

"A Japanese-English Vocabulary" by Mr. Liggins. Price 3 itzebus. 147 copies.

"A Chinese Miscellany" published monthly by the missionaries at Shanghae.

"The Ningpo Serial" by Dr. Macgowan.

This last work, containing a collection of foreign news and notices of current events in China and in western lands, is the favourite publication and greatly in demand. Any allusion to Christianity is rigidly suppressed in all foreign works in the Chinese or Japanese languages republished in Japan. But any Chinese books, which contain a slight admixture of religious matter interspersed amid scientific treatises, are allowed to be imported for sale and doubtless will find their way into all parts of the empire.* One or

* Rev. J. Liggins, an American missionary now absent from Nagasaki, wrote on August 10th, 1859, a letter from which the following is an extract. After mentioning various scientific works published in Chinese which had been disposed of among the Japanese, he writes:—

"These works, of which I have sold more than a thousand copies, are purchased by the higher classes of Japanese, and many of them will, no doubt, be republished by them and circulated throughout the empire. Four scientific works by American missionaries in China have been already translated into Japanese and published by this people, who have a great thirst for knowledge.

"Since writing the above, I have learned that some of the Japanese at the capital have already commenced republishing the works with which I am furnishing this people. The one on natural philosophy is already out, and three of the others are to be published at once. This shows how eager they are to become familiar with the superior scientific and other knowledge possessed by the men of the West."

two former cases of a presentation of the New Testament in Japanese were met by a direct refusal; and in the present temper of the native government the acceptance of the Christian Scriptures would entail the peril of death on the recipient. Even our friend Dr. Kasatu cannot be exempted from the suspicion of having made a request to receive the gospel of St. Luke as a spy in the interest of the local government, anxious to examine every religious book in the Japanese language known to be in our possession. We deemed it the more prudent course not to arouse the jealous fears of their rulers by any premature endeavours to distribute copies of the word of God; and cherish the hope that with the blessing of the Almighty and the prevalence of a higher moral tone among the representatives of Christian nations, opportunities of more directly aggressive missionary action may hereafter be created, and brighter prospects dawn upon the moral and spiritual destinies of Japan.

CHAP. XII.

RURAL DISTRICTS NEAR NAGASAKI.

EXCURSIONS INTO SURROUNDING VILLAGES. — RESTIVE HORSES. — ANGLO-FRENCH COMMISSARIAT FROM CHINA. — EXTERNAL ASPECT OF VILLAGES. — RURAL SCENERY. — GOVERNOR'S AQUATIC GALA. — TOKITZ. — MATERIAL COMFORT OF POPULATION. — CUTANEOUS DISEASES. — YEDDO ROAD. — REFECTORY-HOUSES. — TRIP OVER THE HILLS. — JAPANESE FLORA. — AGRICULTURE. — VILLAGES.

FREQUENT pedestrian rambles into the rural parts immediately bordering on the suburbs, and some occasional equestrian excursions a few miles into the surrounding country, were among the agreeable incidents of my stay at Nagasaki. My first trip was a ride over the hills extending to the south of the British Consulate and the site of the future foreign settlement. My English companion and myself had some difficulty at starting in making our way through the long lines of small Japanese horses in the course of being purchased on behalf of the British and French commissariats for the service of the military expedition in the North of China. Near the British Consulate a depôt of mat-sheds was formed; and another at the offices of a Scotch merchant acting for the French Government. During the whole day troops of horses were led up and down by native speculators bringing every pony which they could collect from

the outlying districts. The measuring rod was applied, they were trotted and put through their paces, and the process of bargaining entered upon. The excitement of the vociferating native salesmen was as nothing compared with the kicking, biting, neighing and prancing of the steeds, which rendered the narrow lanes almost impassable. Some fifteen hundred horses were collected together awaiting transport to the vicinity of the Peiho. Some were shipped for Shanghae, but an equestrian mutiny on board cost the French Government the loss of three-fourths of their first shipment. The high-spirited ponies broke loose, and struck, bit and tore at everything in their way. The European sailors suffered some severe wounds and refused to go among the infuriated animals. Out of three hundred scarcely sixty arrived after a week's voyage alive and safe at Shanghae. Some of the Military Train Corps soon afterwards arrived in Japan to break in the untamed horses and prevent a repetition of the disaster.

We had not proceeded a quarter of a mile before a slight motion in opening my umbrella caused my own steed to strike out its heels behind, and on looking around I had the misfortune of finding that my companion had thereby been literally kicked out of his saddle and was lying on the green crop of a paddy-field by the wayside. He was fortunately but slightly bruised, and after a short delay we resumed our ascent of the hills.

There is something exquisitely beautiful and attractive in the appearance of these rural landscapes

in Japan,—the green lanes lined with overhanging hedgerows of honeysuckles and flowering shrubs of every variety and hue, the hill-tops covered with fir plantations, the valleys sheltering in their irregularly winding nooks the cottages and homesteads of a peaceful and orderly population, the peasant's hut peeping forth from amid the clustering branches and mantling shade of the gently-waving grove of bamboos, the fields covered with cereal crops, and the light-hearted thrifty villagers engaged in tilling the soil or in the various other pursuits of agricultural labour. The roads over the hills and through the more retired villages are usually of rude and primitive construction, mere causeways of two or three feet in breadth piled with loose stones between the growing crops, or in the more hilly rising ground consisting of deep rut-ways hollowed out by the natural action of the descending mountain torrent. In some parts a regular flight of stone steps helped to relieve the fatigue of the toiling pedestrian. Alternate hill and valley,—deep-shaded ravine and open pathway,—secluded, bare and desolate aspect, and busy merry crowds of peasants,—succeeded each other by turns. Irrigating machines, water-courses, narrow rills bubbling with the turbid stream, and rough implements for threshing and winnowing grain, were to be seen in the vicinity of their dwellings. There were farm-houses of neat exterior, and public wells with their primitive apparatus for hauling up the water. The prevalent Eastern mechanical contrivance of a swinging beam moving on a pivot and balanced by a heavy

attached stone at one end, served to economise labour in raising water and was a frequent appendage to their gardens. Sometimes a well-wooded avenue of cedars conducted us by a silent and less frequented pathway to a village shrine or some rustic temple consecrated to the popular divinities of the district. The villagers were everywhere well-behaved and respectful, and readily set us right when once or twice we lost our way. The sun was rather hot and the steep ascents sometimes retarded our pace. In such pauses we had opportunities of turning round and surveying the beautifully picturesque scenes over which we passed, and to hold a few minutes' intercourse with the motley crowds of men and women, old and young, who clustered around us and deemed a foreign visitor the fair subject of curiosity and good-humoured speculation. After a ride of five miles we returned by a different road leading along the projecting summit of a moderately elevated range of rugged stony cliffs overhanging the outer part of the harbour and bordering on a well-cultivated district of fields. At a little distance beyond us lay the clustering islets which guard the bay, and more immediately prominent to our view was the well-known and far-celebrated Papenberg forming the turning-point to the ships arriving from the outer waters. A fine view of the city from the southward on our return rewarded us for our toilsome journey amid the increasingly powerful rays of a noonday sun. We had also an opportunity of witnessing from our elevated point of observation a

gala-day state excursion of one of the governors of the city, going forth in official pomp and ceremony to inspect one of the villages which line either shore of the bay. A state barge was towed along by a number of other boats propelled each by an immense scull worked by two or three men at the stern. On board the great man's barge a band of native musicians gave forth their notes of noisy minstrelsy and strove with their discordant sounds of flutes, flageolets, horns and tom-toms to gladden and glorify the scene. A retinue of twenty boats followed in the rear and closed in the aquatic procession. Guns and a *feu de joie* were occasionally fired, and the harbour wore for a season the appearance of holiday.

On the following day I accompanied a small party of English gentlemen on a more distant equestrian excursion in the opposite direction on the north and west of the city to a place called Tokitz, a large village situated about ten miles from Nagasaki and facing southwards to the sea on a beautiful marine landscape in the bay of Ohinura. Tokitz is estimated to contain about a thousand people, and is situated beyond the limits of imperial jurisdiction, not being included in the territory attached to the city of Nagasaki, but governed by its own territorial chieftain, the lord of the surrounding district of O-o-mura, which belongs to the province of Hizen or, as it is more commonly called in the slightly varying local pronunciation of Nagasaki, Fizen.

We rode through the central parts of the city (which is entirely destitute of fortified walls or a

fosse) into the suburbs, and thence turning a little to the left skirted for some time the northern part of the harbour, until we met a stream of water flowing into it. For three or four miles our way lay along the banks or in the stony bed of this rivulet, leading through a series of villages, and crossing flights of steps, which in any other country would be deemed impassable on horseback. As we proceeded further into the country, the view changed from the bold scenery of mountain and sea landscape to a rich and verdant panorama of fertile valleys teeming with agricultural produce and covered with growing crops of rice, wheat, rye and rape-seed extending from the low level over the gradually rising acclivities to the summits of hills of moderate height. Coppices of cedar and fir were interspersed like emeralds of fairest setting amid the smiling beauty of Nature's golden aspect. Camellias, roses and evergreens of every variety hung in drooping festoons over our pathway, which widened in this more frequented part into the broad dimensions of a well-paved road. The villagers welcomed us in every direction, interchanging signs of good-will and offering us sweetmeats, hot tea or cold water. On our return many of the women and boys were standing outside their cottages, offering flowers to ourselves and holding out bunches of green fodder for our horses. Some asked us if this were our Zondag (Sunday); others proffered their importunate request for the much-prized ornament of a gilt button. In the narrower parts of the road the females whom

we met sometimes hastily leaped aside out of our way, apparently through fear of our restive horses more than of the riders, and giving way to loud laughter amid their manifestations of alarm. Sometimes we met the family retinue of a two-sworded gentleman on his travel, and our little cavalcade mingled with his carriers of luggage and chair-bearers. Interspersed throughout these lovely sequestered valleys there was the usual assemblage of village homesteads, temples, shrines, wells and a few shops. We passed under one well-wooded hill on the summit of which a remarkable boulder-stone of immense size looked like an ancient tower built by giant-hands, quivering on its narrow base, and threatening every moment to slide from its delicately-poised foundations and to carry crushing desolation and destruction into the valley below. We entered the populous village or small town of Tokitz and were an object of some exciting attraction to its crowds of idle gazers. On some former occasions the townspeople had shown their dislike of foreigners breaking bounds and extending their rambles so far by throwing a few missiles and otherwise marking their displeasure at foreign audacity. At this time we were fortunate in meeting with nothing calculated to mingle any unpleasant associations with the reminiscences of the trip. Two of our party remained to bathe in the sea-water at a jetty which stretched out into the bay amid a little fleet of native trading boats and fishing vessels, the stench from which was the least agreeable sensation of our visit. The people took care of their horses while

they bathed; and half an hour afterwards our companions rejoined us at a small village two miles nearer Nagasaki, where we halted on our return and made preparations for our dinner. The proprietor of a house on the wayside lent us his principal room and assisted our Japanese coolies in cooking our meal. He readily furnished us with whatever we wanted without pecuniary reward, receiving two empty bottles as his chief perquisite. A native doctor and one or two other neighbours joined our party, and the gift of a cigar from an Englishman present soon brought them to terms of friendly companionship. The wife also made her appearance and superintended the boiling of the kettle, which was suspended by a neat and clever contrivance of sliding rods in any position and at any distance over the charcoal-fire from one of the rafters in the roof, regularly built flues and chimney-stacks being as yet a luxurious invention unknown in Japan. The scenery through which we passed would be considered landscape of the highest order in any part of the world, and exceeds anything ordinarily accessible in the British islands in the rich abundance of evergreen trees and the products of a semi-tropical vegetation intermingled with many of the more prominent beauties of a temperate region. The people seemed everywhere to possess a fair amount of material comfort; and the signs of prosperity and contentment generally prevailed. Stout limbs and moderate strength of physical frame were the preponderating characteristics in their appearance, and told no tale of want of food in sufficient quantity to preserve

health and sustain bodily labour. There were visible in these rural parts scarcely any beggars, few diseased persons, and no disgusting spectacles of miserable squalor and putrid ulcers exhibited by the wayside to extort the traveller's coin. The only exception was the wide prevalence of cutaneous eruptions and sore heads, which suggested unpleasant doubts of the cleanliness of personal habits for which the Japanese have gained a good repute as a nation.

We passed the boundary line between the imperial *régime* and the outlying district on our way back to the city. A police-station with a few written notices posted outside, was the only indication of the spot; and no delay was experienced from the persons in charge. So little did the precise locality attract our notice, that we almost failed to perceive the exact limit between the two territorial jurisdictions, or to mark the moment when on our return we passed again from the domains of a vassal prince into the proper imperial authority of the Tycoon of Japan.

A few days later some friends accompanied me on a similar trip into the country on the north-east of the city. On this occasion those of us who had not strength for walking up the long hilly ascent had to employ coolies to carry us in a kagoo. Our trip extended a few miles on what is commonly called the Yeddo road, every milestone in the empire being reckoned and numbered from the celebrated "Bridge of Japan" in that capital. Our route lay through a series of winding paths leading from the "Street of Temples" along a beautiful valley of verdant crops

and luxuriant gardens interspersed among burial-grounds and little altar-shrines to the base of the hills on the east of the city. Here our way lay between two hill-sides covered with fir coppices and low bushes by a well-formed road paved with flag-stones in some places and at others compacted into the well-trodden hardness of a macadamised surface. The furthest point of our excursion was the top of a hill over which the road extended. From this elevation we were able to look upon the country on the opposite side, and had a clear view of the celebrated mountain known by the name of Unsen-yama. The volcano on its summit generally emits a cloud of smoke environing its highest peaks; but on this day all was clear and cloudless. The villagers stated that there is an eruption of smoke once in twenty days. A little distance before reaching this pass among the hills, we arrived at a fine specimen of a Japanese hotel or public refreshment-house, at which we rested for four hours on our return to avoid the heat of the noonday sun. There were four or five rooms, as usual, entirely destitute of furniture except the matting on which we knelt or crouched. These apartments are available for each successive company of travellers, and a larger room served for the proprietors of the building, who were engaged in cooking a meal for their more wealthy visitors or in selling eatables to the crowd of pedestrians standing outside and satisfying their hunger by more homely food. These refectory-rooms were crowded with guests; and among them we particularly noticed a party of Bud-

hist priests who had strolled out thither on an excursion of pleasure. A little girl of ten years who accompanied them amused the party by singing airs and performing dances, in which she waved a fan in measured time and assumed a variety of graceful attitudes. She received presents of sugar and cake from some of the travellers as a reward for her exhibition. One of the adjoining reception-rooms was occupied by an official gentleman wearing his two swords and carrying a steel cane-like thin rod as a walking-stick in his hand. He walked on his journey, attended by half a dozen followers; and soon made way for another batch of travellers. Many of the wayfarers journeyed on horseback, seated in a high clumsy saddle with wooden stirrups of large size, in which the whole foot rested without the possibility of being entangled during a fall. The stirrup-leathers were very short and brought the rider's knees on a level with the horse's shoulders. A long train of these Japanese steeds was stationed outside and gave frequent trouble to their owners by their pugnacity and restiveness. Large stores of straw horseshoes were sold close by, and this halting-place served as a convenient spot for replacing the old pair by a fresh supply. The riders were to be seen on either side of the way tying over the horses' fetlocks these mere woven wisps of straw used as a sufficient protection of the hoof from the stony causeways and rendering the animal less liable to miss its footing on the slippery flag-stones of the steeper hill-sides. A large thickly-wadded bandage under the tail served the

purpose of a crupper. An extended frame of light wooden trellis-work ran across the road at this point, on which a beautiful vine-like shrub was trained, and furnished in its shady leaves and drooping clusters of purple-coloured flowers a cool shelter for man and beast. It was one of the pleasantest sights in this country to see these clean-swept well-matted cool resting-places filled by a throng of busy travellers or of holiday-seekers from the city, enjoying their simple meal of cakes and tea and indulging in the relaxation of these salubrious retreats. The same good-humoured curiosity was perceptible in the village crowds of old and young, who showed no astonishment or alarm at the presence of a foreigner. In some of the public refectories by the roadside we saw companies of singing-girls exercising their minstrelsy. In one place two young men were engaged in a wrestling match, which they carried on in perfect nudity. The rough handling and heavy falls which they sustained on the hard chunamed floor excited the fear of our witnessing a more serious infliction of blows and termination in an angry fight. After a few minutes however they ceased from their severe struggles, covered with perspiration and dirt, but without the slightest loss of temper, responding with hearty laughter to the cheers of the spectators. The number of quack advertisements of Chinese medicines which were posted on some of the village shops, were of a most novel and original character. In one place a dentist proclaimed on a suspended wooden frame his scale of prices for extracting teeth. A

picture was exhibited of a set of men's teeth in the original white colour of nature, and of another set of married ladies' teeth blackened by art. The advertiser offered to extract men's teeth at the low price of 300 iron cash (threepence) each, and women's teeth for the still lower fee of 200 iron cash (twopence). The people at the refreshment-house brought us presents of flowers, and endeavoured to draw us into conversation by explaining the names of the various objects in the court-yard. They were greatly amused by our inexpertness in eating our meal in a room bare of chairs and table, and betrayed great merriment at perceiving the evident pain with which we endeavoured to adapt our limbs to the Japanese sitting posture. In no part of Japan does the native disposition appear more favourable towards foreigners than in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki.

Another of my rural excursions in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki took me to the east and south-east of the city over the range of hills rising above the temple in which I was lodged. We passed by an ascending route some three or four miles to the rear of the eastern suburbs among fields richly cultivated and furnishing a fair specimen of Japanese agriculture. The most hasty and cursory glance at the natural aspect of a Japanese landscape reveals to an observer the marked approximation of a great variety of species in the Japanese flora to the vegetable productions of the British islands, and the strange dissimilarity in this respect between the country of Japan and Australian scenery. While in

the antipodal regions of the latter continent the prevalence of the Eucalyptus family in the vegetable kingdom and of the Marsupial tribe in the animal world exhibits the wide severance and divergence of its indigenous flora and fauna from all the commonly observable types in the natural history of Europe,—in a Japanese country-scene, on the contrary, the beholder might sometimes transfer himself in thought to his native land and almost realise the imagination that he is moving among the hills, glens and valleys of old England. Without venturing an attempt to give the reader an enumeration of the terms in botanical accuracy, I may mention in illustration of this resemblance that as we ascended the hilly pathways in our mountainous excursion to the high land in the rear of the city, the common vegetables, plants and weeds of an English roadside were visible in every direction. Daisies, buttercups, Scotch thistles, milk-thistles, dandelions, sorrels, scentless blue violets, and not a few varieties of British ferns were strewn about our path. Roses, irises, rhododendrons, peonies and camellias of every hue and party-colour, peach-blossoms, cherry-blossoms and daffodils among garden-flowers; pines, Scotch firs, spruces, larches and cedars among forest-trees; and wheat, rye, barley, rape, mustard, clover, cinquefoil, vetches, turnips and carrots among the field crops,—served to remind us of the similar agricultural crops and rural scenes of our fatherland;—while rice-fields, orange-trees, sago-palms and other varieties of the palm tribe, a few fruitless plantain-trees, and above one hundred

and fifty species of evergreen trees, luxuriating in all the wild fertility of these hill-sides and unknown till recently in the nomenclature of the European botanist, were sufficient to remind us that our footsteps trod a foreign soil, and that wellnigh half the globe's circumference separated us in these novel outlandish regions from the loved scenes of our youth.

Japanese agriculture is still practised in very primitive style. The husbandman pursues his toil with tools of most homely construction. Experimental farming and its train of scientific inventions are not likely to invade these unsophisticated tillers of the soil or to change the aspect of their rural homesteads. Small holdings and high rents are a fatal barrier to agricultural improvement in any land. In Japan these causes operate fully in conjunction with feudal tenures in reducing the peasant labourer almost to a condition of virtual serfdom, the greater part of the farming produce being surrendered to the imperial or princely lord of the soil. A Japanese ploughman carries on his work by means of a plough formed of a small beam from which a piece of wood projects on the right-hand side to serve as a handle in directing its course over the furrow. The share is a mere double mattock hanging downwards and flattened at the bottom parallel with the surface, so as to pull up the soil and throw the sods on the right and left to fall on either side of the little trench. The whole is dragged forward by a single small ox of the country in straggling irregular movement so as to form a

zigzag furrow almost at the uncontrolled will of the animal. In this way the toiling labourer prepares the soil for the seed, or ploughs in a green crop of cinquefoil as manure for the intended rice-crop. The fields are necessarily very small, not exceeding a rood in extent in some places, on account of the numerous level parterres for irrigation and the interspersed rills for conveying the stream step by step down the gradual declivity of the hill-side. The seed is scattered on the top of the slimy marshy surface, and oxen are employed to tread down the sown seed into the yielding muddy soil. Rice is generally first sown in small plots during the month of April, so as to grow up closely clustered in well-watered beds, from which it is afterwards taken in bunches when about six inches in height, and transplanted by women at intervals of a few inches. A graduated supply of water according to the season is brought by irrigating machines into the levelled paddy-field. In November the rice-crop is ripe and cut by sickle or mown by a scythe. The heads of the sheaves are beaten against a stone or some other hard substance in lieu of being threshed. They then undergo a second threshing process by being violently stamped so as to separate the grain from the husk. This part of the labour is done either by the help of rude machinery moved by a water-wheel, or by a hulling machine containing heavy blocks of stone, alternately raised and suffered to fall with a crushing weight by rice-beaters working under cover of the storehouse. Water-wheels for grinding corn

are a frequent sight in the neighbourhood of their homesteads. Over the greater part of our ramble we witnessed nothing like hedges or fences, and no boundaries between the fields beyond the little water-rills dug for irrigation. The waving golden hue of the yellow patches of mustard-seed and cabbage-seed grown for the manufacture of vegetable oil, and crops of wheat, buckwheat and barley, formed an interesting object of variegated beauty in the landscape. The villages on these hills showed no sign of wealth or affluence; and the farming peasantry seemed to be a poorer class of population, though not necessarily on that account to be regarded as destitute of the principal necessaries of life. As we passed through the rural hamlets, the peasants ran forth from their rude and simple dwellings, and shouted words of welcome, sometimes calling to us with an invitation to come to their houses and drink a cup of sakee.

CHAP. XIII.

FORMER RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS.

FORT OF SIMABARA. — PAPENBERG. — EARTHQUAKES. — PERSECUTIONS. — FRANCIS XAVIER. — ROMAN CATHOLIC EXPULSION. — DUTCH COMPLICITY. — TRAMPLING ON CROSS. — INSCRIPTION OVER SLAUGHTERED CHRISTIANS' PLACE OF SEPULTURE.

THE view obtained from the summit of this range of hills embraces a wide extent of mountainous scenery and marine landscape, with valleys interspersed among the hills and covered with green crops. Towards the north-west we looked down upon the harbour of Nagasaki with its fleets of native and European shipping. In the opposite direction we commanded an extensive view of the open sea, and across a wide bay were able to descry through the clear atmosphere Mount Unsen-yama (the "Mountain of Hot Springs") with a long low black cloud hovering over its summit and denoting its present volcanic activity in the emission of dark smoke hanging like an extended pillar along its upper margin against the blue sky. The district of Simabara lay at its foot, a name associated with tragic reminiscences as the scene of civil war and the last refuge of the native Roman Catholics before they were finally exterminated from the empire. Here the last remnants of the persecuted body of Christians entrenched themselves in what has been called

the Fort of Simabara and long held out against their foes, until the assistance of the Dutch enabled the Japanese Government to reduce them by force of arms and to extirpate the hated religion from their soil. Thirty-seven thousand Christians surrendered in the fort and were all put to the sword in one day. The island of Papenberg visible from the same elevated point towards the west was also suggestive of the same tale of commercial rivalry and religious discord, which incited the maritime nations of Europe to fratricidal war in these eastern seas and induced the Dutch of the seventeenth century to help in the extermination of the Portuguese and Spaniards, involving in their common overthrow the destruction of the Roman Catholic missions in Japan. Never has a more signal reverse or a more irretrievable disaster been inflicted on a religious sect or a political party. From that time nearly two centuries and a half have rolled onward with all their recurring cycles of change; and yet no sign of improvement or prospect of amendment has revived the hopes of the fallen and persecuted system. Cannonaded by Dutch artillery and compelled to surrender at discretion, the overpowered garrison became the prisoners of their relentless captors. Executions of native Christians caused the land to overflow with torrents of martyred blood, which have not hitherto proved the seed of the Roman Catholic Church in Japan. From the bare rugged top of Papenberg tradition relates that thousands of Japanese Christians, who preferred death to an abandonment of their religion, were hurled down

the precipice into the watery abyss below. The European padres evinced their heroic constancy by sharing with their native catechumens the common punishment of a violent death. One wretched man, the Jesuit Christopher Ferreyra, underwent torture in its most harrowing forms of subtle and refined invention. Human nature could no longer continue the conflict, and the sign of recantation was made. He lived on during a wretched life of ignoble security, doomed by his merciless persecutors to bear the marks of perpetual ignominy in filling the situation of Japanese inquisitor and spy, and adding to the infamy of a renegade the shame of forced concubinage with a Japanese woman. The tale of his subsequent contrition and martyrdom has been well observed by former writers to have no better foundation than the wishes of his co-religionists and the charitable hopes of Roman Catholic historians. At the present time not a single native Roman Catholic survives throughout the kingdom of Japan, as a monument of former Propagandist triumphs, or as a record of the early labours of Francis Xavier the canonised saint, hero and patron of Papal missions in the East.*

* The early Roman Catholic annalists and his companions in missionary travel make no scruple in claiming for Francis Xavier the supernatural power of working miracles. They particularly instance his miraculous gift of tongues and the power of raising a dead body to life. Ordinary Roman Catholics of the present day appear to follow in the train of this superstitious veneration and pay semi-divine honours to his bodily remains.

The following description of a congregation of native Roman

The name of Unsen-yama is also associated with the severest of those wide-spread earthquakes which have rendered the provincial district of Simabara almost proverbial as the historical scene of disaster amid these oft-desolated regions. The whole country of Japan appears to be a focus of volcanic eruption and disturbing force on this barrier-edge of the deep oceanic bed of the Pacific. At the close of the last century (A.D. 1793), one of the most destructive visitations that ever ravaged the surface of our globe

Catholics in the East bowing down to the relics of this Romish saint is somewhat abhorrent to the spirit of Protestant missions and the simplicity of pure scriptural worship :—

"*Festival of St. Francis Xavier at Goa.*

"On the 3rd of December, the day of the great feast, the bells rang joyously at the hour fixed for the ceremony of exposition. The litter on which reposes the body of St. Francis Xavier takes out like a drawer from the rest of the case. It was carried by persons of the highest dignity in the city present, and deposited in its shrine in the centre of the sanctuary. The shrine was now surrounded by candlesticks of massive silver and by beautiful silver lamps. High mass followed, during which, after the Gospel, the panegyric of the saint was pronounced by the most eminent preacher in the city, who concluded his address by three Hail Marys, the last of which was for his lordship Monseigneur Canoz. During the elevation guns were fired outside the church, as if it had been a military mass. When the most holy sacrifice was concluded, the faithful were permitted to approach the holy remains and to kiss the feet of the saint. Everything was so well arranged that there was no confusion in this ceremony. The people ascended the platform, one by one, by steps at one corner, knelt and kissed the holy feet of St. Francis Xavier, and, walking halfway round the shrine, descended by a different way and filed off out of the church. But there were few who did not return at some more quiet time to have a tranquil look at the saintly remains and an undisturbed prayer beside them."—*Allen's Indian Mail.*

within historic memory occurred in the Simabara district. The mountain Unsen-yama itself collapsed from its inmost centre and its summit subsided into the yielding cavity, whereby the whole mountain range was altered in shape. Two months later another volcanic eruption from the summit of Bivo-no-koubi sent forth its desolating streams of lava over several miles of adjacent country. Throughout the whole of the island of Kewsew, and especially in the province of Simabara, a terrible earthquake altered the entire aspect of the country and involved many thousands of the people in a common destruction. The opposite province of Figo shared the full effects of this widespread destruction, having the configuration of its coast-line and the general form of its territory entirely changed. The tumultuous war of elements extended even to the neighbouring waters, and ships were sunk at sea. Above 53,000 persons were estimated to have perished. Native drawings and printed books still represent the awful conflagrations and destruction caused by the catastrophe; and some of the coloured pictures which I saw, descriptive of the scene, abound with horrible details. A whole region has the appearance of a vast seething cauldron with volumes of raging flame shooting forth on every side and burying every mountain and valley in its devouring jaws. The commonly prevailing Budhistic ideas of the future place of torture for the wicked are largely borrowed from the popular tradition of these earthquakes and volcanic eruptions of the last century.

The history of Roman Catholic missions in Japan

is calculated to raise many inquiries of collateral interest; and the question naturally suggests itself—what were the peculiar circumstances which converted this promising field of Roman Catholic ascendency into one of the most marvellous scenes of unprecedented reverse and failure? It may be useful to eliminate a few suppositions from the subject of our investigation. No pride of race or hatred of foreigners operated in the Japanese mind as an obstacle to Roman Catholic missions, for the Portuguese newcomers were welcomed by the people and suffered to contract marriages with the Japanese. The padres who commenced the mission were men of popular manners and accomplished arts, who were well received in the country. A Japanese youth from Goa returned to his native country with the missionaries, and spread abroad a good report concerning his foreign instructors and the new religion which he had learnt from their teaching. High Japanese princes were among their early converts. An embassy of Japanese nobles proceeded to Rome. International courtesies were exchanged. Francis Xavier and his companions in missionary travel give one unvarying testimony in favour of the Japanese race as the delight of their heart. The persecutions of Christians were not caused by any inherent bigotry and intolerance in the Japanese Government, for the spirit of the national laws of Japan is remarkably tolerant and liberal, and every sect of religionists,—Sintoists, Budhists and Confucianists,—dwell together in peace. The real cause of Roman Catholic disasters and their final

expulsion from the empire is to be seen partly in the divisions and mutual altercations of the Roman Catholic orders; and partly in the jealousies and conflicts between Spaniards and Portuguese, and subsequently of both united against their commercial rivals and interlopers, the Dutch. Here, as in China, Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans pursued a career of sectarian discord, and falsified for ever by their acts the boasted theory of a visible unity and infallible headship of the Catholic Church enthroned in the seven-hilled city. Early European writers also assign additional causes in the growing pride and arrogance of the Roman Catholic priesthood in general, and especially in the rencontre between a bishop and one of the great feudal lords of the empire on their way to the capital, who were involved in an altercation on the high road respecting the place of honour in passing each other. Political intrigues have been added also to other charges. Two letters were discovered by the Dutch, who turned informers and accused their rivals of conspiracy against the imperial throne. The contents revealed the existence of a wide combination among the native Roman Catholic party and a suspected scheme of raising one of the vassal princes who were numbered among their converts to the imperial throne. The flame of civil war was fanned and the national sentiment of loyalty was roused. At one time the whole empire seemed on the point of becoming nominally Christian; and elated hope brought in its train self-confidence and the arrogance of victory. A re-

action at length came, and sudden reverse followed. Roman Catholic missionaries and converts were for ever banished on pain of death from the soil of Japan. The sole present results of a century of persevering and successful missionary labour may be soon enumerated. They have bequeathed to all succeeding generations in Japan the introduction of tobacco, a hatred of the Christian religion, a distrust of foreigners, and the long-continued seclusion of the Japanese nation from the rest of the world. Here, as in Paraguay, all the requisite conditions of success were supplied to their hand. The Jesuits had a clear field, and every obstruction was removed from their path. But no one single moral result survives to prove the vitality of their system, or to authenticate the oft-repeated boast of indestructible unity and progress.

The result might have been far different if the translation and dissemination of the Holy Scriptures had occupied a greater prominence in their system of religious instruction. The case of the Malagasy Christians retaining the steadfastness of their profession after but a few years of the residence of missionaries in the country,—amid the persecution of their pagan queen and the expulsion of their foreign missionary teachers from Madagascar,—is a strong contrast to the transient results of Roman Catholic missions in Japan after a century of successful propagandism and free toleration in the empire. The Holy Scriptures in Malagasy were widely distributed among the native flocks; and the little communities of persecuted

believers have in some cases been kept together by the sole bond of a secret treasure held in common,—the interdicted possession of a portion of the Malagasy Bible. In the absence of the human teacher, the Holy Spirit of God in the omnipotence of His operations has sanctified this instrumentality of His own written word for the sustentation of vital religion in the souls of the Malagasy converts. A free and open Bible in the language understood by the people is a necessary supplement to oral instruction and essential to the permanency of missionary results in any land.

The degree to which the Dutch of that age were implicated in the final extinction of their commercial rivals and the contemporaneous extermination of Christianity in Japan, is one which it is difficult to decide at the present time. Roman Catholic annalists charge them with the crime of indifference to the sufferings of the persecuted Christians and of forgery in the matter of the intercepted letters which were produced in proof of the collusion of missionaries in the political intrigues of the times and their share in the conspiracy against the reigning monarch. They have reviled the Dutch as enduring every contumely for the sake of filthy lucre and of virtually abjuring their Christian profession by their evasive reply to Japanese inquisitors. The Dutch are accused of having been led to trample on the cross in attestation of their abjuration of Christianity, and of having helped in giving the final blow to Christianity by imbruing their hands in the blood of the Christians in Simabara. The apologists for the Dutch on their

part admit a portion of these charges in their confession of a participation in the closing acts of the tragedy at Simabara. They deny any active co-operation in the storming of the fort, but at the same time acknowledge some complicity in the transaction by having provided guns and ammunition to the Japanese assailants.* The Dutch also themselves confess the humiliation and degradation by which they have purchased imperial favour and a retention of exclusive commercial privileges. Their officials at Desima have borne testimony to the prevalent laxity of morals and the habit of ignoring the duties of Christianity in their private lives, which unhappily formed the general rule of practice in their factory. And even at the present day the writers and men of science who are occasionally found among the Dutch officials appear to have inherited a traditionary prejudice against Christian missions and to have imbibed

* There is something heartless in the following allusion to these historical transactions and their terrible results to the Roman Catholic party in Japan—from the work of Titsingh. Judged out of the mouths of their own writers, the conduct of the Dutch in those days was intensely cruel, mercenary and selfish : —

"The sanguinary war which we (the Dutch) carried on with these two nations (the Spaniards and Portuguese), who were *too zealous* for the propagation of Christianity, and the difference of our religion, procured us the liberty of trading there, to the exclusion of all the other nations of Europe. The Japanese, perceiving that incessant seditions were to be apprehended from the secret intrigues of the Roman Catholics, and the numerous converts made by them, found at length that in order to strike at the root of the evil, they ought to apply to the Dutch, whose flag was then the terror of the Indian seas."

from their predecessors a distrust of the veriest semblance of propagandism among oriental nations.

And yet let it ever be remembered that the Dutch traders and colonists of those early days are principally viewed through the medium of unfriendly annalists and hostile critics. Let it be borne in mind that the Dutch navigators and settlers were the first to check Roman Catholic power and the maritime supremacy of Papal countries. They set the example of ignoring and setting at nought the assumed power of the Popedom to divide by an imaginary line the habitable world and to partition the eastern and the western hemispheres between the rival colonising powers of Portugal and Spain. The Dutch too were the first Protestant nation who endeavoured to christianise the native populations under their sway. By a well-meant though unwisely-conceived policy they instituted a system of proponents or government catechists by whose instructions the native races of Ceylon were prepared for baptism as a pre-requisite for municipal offices and the equal rights of Dutch subjects.

Not even the semblance of proof has ever been attempted to make good the charge against the Dutch of having joined in treading on the cross as a sign of their abjuring the Christian religion. That such a custom existed among the Japanese at Nagasaki is unhappily too well authenticated by the statements of Dutch writers, and by a clause in the last American treaty with Japan. In the latter document it is declared that the practice of trampling upon the cross is abo-

lished; and the inference from these words is plain that the Japanese rulers themselves admit the former existence of such a custom. Thunberg, who relates the particular details of its annual observance, expressly states that "of the officers that were at the time on the island (Desima), there was but one who professed having once had an opportunity of seeing it on his way, when sent by the chief to the governor of the town about some matters respecting the preparation for the intended journey to the court."

The following is the description given by Thunberg in p. 89 of his third volume of the detailed observance of this sacrilegious custom:—

"A few days after the Japanese New Year's Day (A.D. 1776) the horrid ceremony was performed of trampling on such images as represent the cross, and the Virgin Mary with the child. These images, which are made of cast copper, are said to be about twelve inches in length. This ceremony is performed for the purpose of imprinting on every one an abhorrence and hatred of the Christian doctrine and of the Portuguese who attempted to propagate that doctrine, and at the same time to discover whether any remains of it be yet left in any Japanese. The trampling is performed in such places as were formerly most frequented by the Christians. In the town of Nagasaki it continues for the space of four days; after which period the images are carried to the adjacent places, and at last laid by till the following year. Every one, except the governor and his train, even the smallest child, is obliged to be present at

this ceremony; but that the Dutch, as some have been pleased to insinuate, are obliged to trample on these images, is not true. At every place overseers are present, who assemble the people by rotation in certain houses, calling over every one by his name in due order, and seeing that everything is duly performed. Adults walk over the images from one side to the other, and children in arms are put with their feet on them."

It does not appear that this custom of trampling on the cross was practised in any other city than Nagasaki, where, in the immediate vicinity of the Dutch factory in Desima, it was doubtless intended as a perpetual warning to the neighbouring Europeans and the local Japanese of the unrelenting hatred and persecuting violence of the Imperial Government of Japan against any persons attempting to reintroduce the proscribed religion into the country.

After the extermination of the Christians at Simabara, the following inscription was set over the vast common place of sepulture in which the bodies of the numerous victims of persecution were buried. Never in the history of the world has any nation been known to avow in its public acts and monumental records a more undying rancorous hatred of the Christian religion. The impious challenge of the inscription is probably unequalled in its daring blasphemy against the divine name. It has been supposed by some that the phrase "*the Christians' God*"*

* The Japanese converts were apparently taught to regard the Pope of Rome as a semi-divine personage and the Vicar of God

may have been intended to denote the Pope of Rome, who might be imagined in their imperfect knowledge of European nations to stand in the relation of their own semi-deified Mikado or spiritual emperor towards the Roman Catholic world:—

"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know, that the King of Spain himself, or the Christians' God, or the great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."

upon earth. The four Japanese noblemen who proceeded on an embassy to the Roman Pontiff carried letters from the Christian princes of Bungo and Omura, which have been handed down by the ecclesiastical annalists of the mission. The inscription of the former was as follows:—"À celui qui doit être adoré, et qui tient la place du Roi du Ciel, le grand et Très-Saint Pape."

The latter was couched in equally strong terms:—"Les mains élevées vers le ciel, et dans les sentiments d'une vénération profonde, j'adore le Très-Saint Pape, qui tient la place de Dieu sur la terre, et lui présente humblement cette lettre."

CHAP. XIV.

A BUDHIST COMMEMORATION.

COLONEL VON SIEBOLD. — GRAND COMMEMORATIVE BUDHIST FESTIVAL. — HORENJI MONASTERY. — A NATIONAL HERO IN THE COREAN WAR. — HOSPITALITY OF PRIESTS. — PROCESSION OF CHILDREN. — PRIESTS. — ABBOT. — LITURGICAL SERVICE. — SERMON. — RELIGION WEARING A HOLIDAY DRESS. — INEFFECTUAL MORAL RESTRAINT.

DURING my stay in Nagasaki I paid two or three visits to Colonel von Siebold, the well-known writer on the antiquities and natural history of Japan. Our route lay northward from Desima through the city to a part of the beach whence we took a native boat across a narrow arm of the harbour and landed in a little bay at the foot of a slightly-rising ground, on the side of which he lodged in a temple. We passed on our way at the edge of the harbour the palace of the Prince of Fizen, or rather the city residence ordinarily occupied by his agent in transacting mercantile business and watching the general interests of this provincial potentate. There was nothing particularly grand in its appearance beyond the massive solidity of the walls, the sea-buttress, the stone steps which led down into the water, and the neatness and spaciousness of the garden-ground which faced upon the harbour. On our last visit we passed directly through

the centre of the city, traversing on our way several streets in which the preparations were made for some religious holiday. Festoons were hung across the way. Little shrines, paper lamps with illumined devices and inscriptions, gaudy flags, imageless altars crowned with a metal mirror, fantastic imitations of animals, and occasionally a large wooden money-chest for contributions to the temples, were conspicuous on either side of the principal thoroughfare. We arrived in the neighbourhood of Mr. von Siebold's dwelling, and lingered for a few moments in the picturesque temple cemetery which occupies a portion of the hill on one side of the principal monastery. Here amid fine trees and in a scene of rural beauty the aristocratic portion of the Japanese citizens find a last resting-place on sacred soil and in close vicinity to the temple. The tombstones were in every variety of native style from the simple headstone to the elaborately gilded massive granite monumental pillar. They seemed to be generally the graves of the wealthier class; and the universal inscription of *sin-sze* "believer," and *sin-neu* "female believer," indicated the fact of their having secured by due pecuniary fees the posthumous names and priestly services of the Budhist ritual.

This range of temples is called by the general name of the "Horenji" monastery, and belongs to the "Hokkishu" sect of Budhists.

Mr. von Siebold has had a somewhat varied experience of Japan and the Japanese. He first came to Nagasaki in the year 1823, and remained in the

Dutch factory until the year 1830, devoting himself to literary pursuits and scientific researches into the botany and natural history of the country. Among other attempts to make Europeans acquainted with the history and geography of Japan, he purchased and published a native map of the empire. In the days of the old *régime* this audacious act was easily made to bear the appearance of constructive treason; and the colonel was unfortunately involved in unpleasant consequences. He was imprisoned for thirteen months in a solitary room at Desima, and finally banished from the Japanese empire. After an absence of nearly thirty years he returned eight months ago, and has resumed at the age of sixty-four his studies and investigations respecting the country in the hope of being able after three or four years to perfect his observations and on his return to Europe to publish the results of his lengthened researches for the benefit of the scientific world.

He showed us his own lithographed map of the city of Nagasaki, the population of which he estimates as now somewhat exceeding 60,000, its former census. The various temples were all laid down and divided according to their religious denominations. He reckons the temples of the eight distinct sects of Budhism in the entire city to be about sixty in number, and states those of the Sinto religion to amount to nine in all. Any prejudice excited against the colonel by portions of his former history appears to have passed away; and we found him to be a valuable *cicerone* in explaining the localities and ritual ceremonies of the

temple on account of his friendly intimacy with the priests, as well as his matured acquaintance with the language. He and his son, a boy of ten years of age, were everywhere welcomed by the Japanese in the neighbouring temples, and appeared to be regarded as favourites and well-known friends. This great Budhist holiday which for some days attracted thousands of people to the courts of the temple and rendered the adjoining portions of the city the scene of some excitement, was held in commemoration of a great national hero named Kiomasa, renowned for his patriotic virtues, and more especially distinguished for his martial achievements and deeds of prowess in the war with Corea, when nearly three hundred years ago Tyco-sama, the reigning monarch and celebrated warrior of Japan, carried his arms into the opposite continent of Asia and invaded the kingdom of Corea. This national hero belonged to the pantheon of the Sinto religion, but has been patronised as an object of devotion also among the Budhists according to the usual policy of the more modern form of superstition introduced from foreign countries, as a means of drawing a large assemblage of people to their temples and rendering Budhism more attractive to the national sentiment of patriotism and loyalty. In some parts of the Horenji monastery we saw shrines and chapels even of the Sintoists with mirrors of the sun-goddess placed above, all under the common superintendence of the Budhist monks, and frequented alike by every class of worshippers. In this and all the other Budhist temples we everywhere witnessed

also the same elaborately carved ornamental stone lamp-pedestals, serving as lanterns on a large scale and destined to preserve in the old times of primitive unbending strictness the perpetually burning sacred fire of the Sinto worship. In these little Sinto shrines there were no idols, and only a few simple rites were performed. Both systems flourished side by side within the same Budhist temple courts in harmony and peace.

As we entered the main temple, we saw a large crowd of Japanese among whom the female sex preponderated, kneeling on the floor in expectation of a procession of priests, and all engaged in ejaculating the name of the saint in a low monotonous murmur, which sounded like the continuous rumbling hoarse moaning of the waves on the still sea-shore. A thousand voices of men and women perseveringly uttered the same three monosyllables in subdued chorus. The whole multitude were crouching on their knees towards the central idol, and kept time to the beating of a triple stroke constantly repeated on a drum. As we stood on one side of the living mass of worshippers, some priests invited us to retire into an inner part of the monastery, where they were entertaining parties of visitors before the services commenced. We passed into an interior hall through a passage leading from the main temple, and soon found ourselves in a spacious apartment in which a number of superior citizens were receiving the hospitality of the monks. Our cards of ceremony were presented in due form; and we were forthwith welcomed to a seat on the matted

floor. A Japanese feast was quickly set before us. Rice coloured with a red pigment, little bowls of soup, salads, and a variety of dishes which were made to resemble slices of fish but were in reality only composed of flour or vegetables, were placed before us. Little cups of hot sakee were offered to us, and a dessert of sweetmeats followed. These native dainties were served to us by youthful female attendants with fair countenance and teeth as yet unblackened by art, unmarried girls, selected for their handsome looks and apparently regarded as the customary additions to a monastic entertainment. A number of nuns are sometimes congregated in a temple; but no woman is enrolled as a nun in such vicinity to the priesthood until she has attained the canonical age of forty years — a period of life at which feminine beauty has long since faded away, and a Japanese lady has passed her prime. As we were sitting on our heels on the matted floor, we observed a large number of funeral tablets of superior workmanship with gilded ornament stowed away in rows at the end of a hall, apparently sent hither for safe custody under the superstitious notion of good luck, or to benefit departed souls by the supposed sanctity of the spot.

We were still engaged in conversation with some priests and other fellow-guests from among the citizens of Nagasaki, when the tinkling of bells and a louder beating of drums announced the approaching commencement of the principal service. After giving one of the attendants a silver itzebu as a return present for the meal, we retraced our steps to the small

transept and watched the detailed ceremonies. Some Japanese quickly brought us a couple of chairs and requested us to take a seat in a convenient spot, readily answering questions and affording any required information. A gorgeous array of ornaments was set out on the principal altar with its enthroned idol and a number of smaller images or dolls. Twelve boys and twelve girls now entered in solemn procession, bearing in their hands some glittering offering. They were beautifully dressed in garments of resplendent gold and silver tissue, with bright-coloured silken robes and lofty tiaras of silver filigree work rising a couple of feet from the heads of the damsels. Each child wore a fancy costume representing some period of national history. Their parents belonged to the richest and most aristocratic portion of the community, and vied with each other in the exhibition of their children and in the costliness of their offerings to the temple. The children were in some cases very beautiful, and their style of physiognomy would be deemed pleasing even according to the rules of Anglo-Saxon taste. The thick layers of pearl-dust and profuse application of rouge to the lips, spoiled the effect of their generally well-proportioned features. The little girls slowly paced one by one the temple pavement, and proceeded in affected pompousness of gait towards the altar, where, the observed of all observers, they reverently placed before the idol their respective gifts, and then retired with graceful curtseyings and bowings to take their seat in a double row in front of the altar on an elevated dais.

Soon after a procession of ten priests entered the temple, the greater part playing the most discordant music, consisting of two or three prolonged screaming notes, out of which it was difficult to construct any idea of tune, as the noisy flutes, flageolets, clarionets and hautboys resounded with the blasts of the priest-musicians, who with inflated cheek vied with each other in causing the whole building to re-echo with their inharmonious din and wailing notes. The chief priest or abbot followed in stately march, arrayed in a robe of red and gaudy-coloured silk with a long skirt trailing on the ground and wrought over with the star-shaped sacred emblem which forms the armorial bearings of the spiritual emperor. Two youthful acolytes followed in white dresses. Some of the priests were visitors and guests from other temples of the same Hokkishu sect of Budhists, and all wore purple hoods distinctive of their religious order dependent over the shoulder and down the back. The high priest with his acolytes in attendance advanced to a little platform, and then bowed to the principal altar. The common priests passed in single file into the centre of the building and formed two rows ranged opposite to each other. They knelt in front of little chests of lacquered ware, containing each a copy of the eight sacred classical books composed by some Budhist worthy connected with the original foundation of their sect. These little cases were opened, and the chauntings forthwith began. The high-priest bowed his head to the ground and offered a short prayer. The other priests from time to time uttered a

response. Genuflexions, prostrations and invocations followed each other in rapid order. The high-priest then removed to a platform in a more central spot and nearer to the altar, attended by his two acolytes or vergers. An animated liturgical service then commenced, the high-priest officiating as precentor in the chauntings, and the priests from time to time rising in a body from their knees and joining in a responsive chorus. After twenty minutes spent in this manner, during which the people looked on and silently watched the scene in one vast kneeling group, the chief priest at length drew from an elegantly lacquered gilt despatch-box tied with silken cords a manuscript composition which he proceeded to read aloud to the congregation. It seemed to be unintelligible to the crowd; and we concluded it to be written in the old Indian Palee tongue of the original home of Budhism. Meanwhile the laity were busy in devotions of their own peculiar devising. They purchased from the priests slips of paper cut in the form of a heart and inscribed with mystic prayers in the common cursive Chinese character or (as will be more accurately explained hereafter) in the Hiragana form of the Japanese syllabarium. These slips were thrown by the purchasers into the central area of the temple, and were supposed to possess the virtue of procuring the merit of a certain number of thousand times' repetition of a form of prayer. Some of the lay worshippers pursued even a shorter road than this to supererogatory merit, buying at a cheaper rate some blank pieces of paper in orthodox shape but un-

inscribed with the mystic sentences. The priests were not unwilling to encourage a vicarious mode of worship in the laity which brought an addition to their treasures. On ordinary occasions the religious zeal of the Japanese is at a low ebb, and the temples are wellnigh deserted. Daily services are seldom attended by the laity, and commonly intermitted by the priesthood. The recurrence of special holidays revives all the superstitious devotion of the multitude; and these annual festivities bring immense crowds to the temple rites. Feastings and rejoicings form no small part of their religion.

In the outer courts the offerings of wealthy individuals were conspicuously displayed at different points of the entrance to the sacred enclosure. Immense sacks of rice were labelled with the name and family armorial devices of the devout giver. Sacred lamps and gilded tinsel ornaments and gewgaws were arrayed in prominent parts of the gateways and flights of ascending steps. The buildings seemed in good repair, and many parts of the stonemasonry and architectural carvings indicated some costly expenditure in sustaining the temple fabrics. They were all of one single story; and although woodwork formed the largest portion of the materials employed, some of them might be pronounced to be fine structures. European ideas of architectural beauty must however be excluded from the mind when forming an estimate of the claims of Japanese and Chinese edifices to rank among specimens of costliness, durability and elegant taste.

It was remarkable to observe the tendency in the Japanese Budhistic fraternities to amalgamate and assimilate with every form of national celebration, and to see the whole populace and priesthood alike indifferent to the rivalries of denominational sectarianism. Religion wears a holiday dress before the multitude. White satin tassels fluttered luxuriously on their garments. Rosaries of pearls were suspended from the arms of the more affluent. A religion of formalistic and self-righteous merit supplies many alleviations to the wealthy in their ability to purchase a convenient substitute for more elaborate acts of devotion. And thus the Japanese multitude pursue their annual routine of festive commemorations and holiday rejoicings. The priests receive their pecuniary dues; the claims of prescriptive religious custom are satisfied;—and the lewd licentiousness of the national character, unchecked by any adequate moral restraints, flows onward with unabated force in its channel of social contamination and defilement.

CHAP. XV.

STATISTICS OF LOCAL HEALTH AND TRADE.

DR. POMPE VAN MEERDERVOORT. — MEDICAL SCHOOL. — JAPANESE CLASS. —LECTURES. — NAVAL SCHOOL. — DIFFERENT CLASSES OF NATIVE POPULATION. — SANITARY CONDITION. — MORAL STATE. — CLIMATE OF NAGASAKI.— CONSULAR STATISTICS OF TRADE.

ALTHOUGH I have generally abstained from mentioning individual names in these pages, and deem it right to refrain from the too prevalent and highly reprehensible practice of violating the courtesies of private life by dragging into print the gentlemen in the various departments of consular, diplomatic, mercantile or clerical life, who kindly supplied me with the means of observation and sources of knowledge during my visit to this country, I trust I shall not be held to have infringed the spirit of this rule if I have alluded by name to two such men as Colonel Von Siebold and Dr. Pompe van Meerdervoort, the latter being the physician attached to the Dutch factory at Desima. These two gentlemen have performed such distinguished services in Japan, and are so well known in connection with scientific pursuits, that they have become in a measure the property of the literary public and may be regarded as among the local institutions of Nagasaki.

Dr. Pompe has a fixed salary from the Dutch Go-

vernment, but receives in addition a yearly sum from the Imperial Government of Japan in return for his valuable services in training a number of native medical practitioners in the principles of European science. I visited him in his Japanese medical school situated a few hundred yards from Desima, and was fortunate in arriving at the time of his delivering a lecture to his class of native physicians and medical students. He receives thirty-six pupils from different parts of the country, some from the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, and others from the remotest provinces of the empire, sent hither by the Imperial Government or by the more liberal and enterprising of the territorial princes for the purpose of being initiated into the mysteries of foreign medical practice. About twenty young men were present at the lecture, and the lecturer was engaged in describing various prevalent diseases, their diagnosis, mode of treatment, and remedies. The name of each disease was written on a large board in European characters and in the Latin language. Dr. Pompe delivered his lecture partly extempore and partly from a manuscript in the Dutch language. A Japanese interpreter rendered it into the native colloquial language, which was rapidly committed to writing by a Japanese reporter. The manuscript of the latter formed a text-book for the native students, who were thus enabled to pursue their studies afterwards at leisure and in detail. This copyist was assistant to the lecturer, and was destined to be the medical officer in the Siogoon's palace. As physician-elect to his Imperial Majesty of Japan he

enjoys many advantages and will have the opportunity of diffusing a knowledge of European science and art among the more influential portion of his countrymen. His head was bare-shaven, and he wore the ordinary dress of a native physician. I was informed that there are two classes of doctors, each easily distinguishable by their mode of wearing the hair. The regularly commissioned practitioners pursue a course of medical studies and receive a formal diploma and certificate of qualification from the spiritual emperor at Miako. They shave their heads clean after the manner of the priesthood and have a higher social and professional standing. The unlicensed practitioners who have never undergone the prescribed course, nor received a diploma, rank more as apothecaries and are not accustomed to shave their head. Both classes of medical practitioners abound in the city. The medical pupils present at this forenoon lecture are boarded and lodged in the medical school at the expense of the Siogoon or of the various princes by whom they have been sent to Nagasaki. Dr. Pompe has a second class in the afternoon consisting of a number of local medical practitioners, who are accustomed to make their round of visits to their own native patients in the morning, and at a later hour of the day avail themselves of the acknowledged advantage of being instructed by a foreign lecturer in the more exact principles of Western medical science. There is great hope for a country and a race of people thus conscious of their own inferiority to foreign physicians and willing to avail themselves of the instruc-

tion of strangers in remedying the defects of native science. Cases of surgical art are attended by the native doctors, and the anatomy of the human frame is explained by a European demonstrator. At the period of my visit two executed criminals had been handed over by the native authorities to Dr. Pompe for dissection; and his report on the progress of his native pupils forms an interesting communication in one of the recent volumes of the "North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" published at Shanghae. A laboratory is in course of erection on the premises for the purpose of illustrating the various branches of chemistry.

A naval school not long since was conducted close by under the supervision of the Dutch and at the expense of the Japanese Government. It contained a miniature ship and models of naval architecture. A large ball falling daily at the hour of noon as a means of correcting ships' chronometers, and the other more common apparatus of such institutions in Europe, were formerly established in the building, but have more recently been intermitted and at last discontinued. This is a subject of just regret to those European gentlemen who have watched with deep interest and hope the symptoms of progress in the native mind. Some of the pupils gave signs of great ability and made rapid improvement. One young man, who on his arrival in the naval school was entirely ignorant of the Dutch language, had in the course of eighteen months made considerable progress in mathematics and mastered all the problems of trigonometry.

At this point of my narrative a few notices of the city and population of Nagasaki may be appended, for the materials of which I beg to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. Pompe. He considers the population of the city to be a little under 70,000 souls. They are divisible into three principal classes.—The *first* consists of the public functionaries, who exist in great numbers and of all grades on account of the local importance of Nagasaki in relation to foreigners and the growing magnitude of national questions of foreign policy. The *second* class comprises the merchants and traders chiefly engaged in foreign commerce, but carrying on also a considerable internal trade with other parts of Japan. The *third* class embraces the operatives and artisans, the labouring people and workers in native handicrafts, such as carpenters, manufacturers of boxes, trunks, mats (which are made in great quantities), paper for lining and decorating the walls of rooms, writing-paper, candles (in which a large business is carried on), fishermen who compose a considerable proportion of the lower orders, and agricultural labourers who form the large majority of the people dwelling in the surrounding rural districts.

The material condition of the poorer classes of labouring population, as compared with other countries, is sometimes difficult to determine. A Chinese acquaintance for some time resident at Nagasaki and well acquainted with the neighbourhood of Shanghae and Ningpo, stated to me as the result of his observation that the cheapness of rice and fish (the two

main necessaries of life to an oriental) enabled the lower orders of Japanese to live on their small wages, and placed a larger portion of material comfort within their reach than is enjoyed by the same classes of working people in China. He qualified his remarks however by the assertion that, all classes of society taken together, the Chinese lived in a state of greater comfort and plenty. This view tallies generally with the information communicated to me by Dr. Pompe. He represents the food as generally of an inferior quality, and if not unwholesome, yet not calculated to promote physical stamina and a strong mental development. With their staple food of rice the lower classes eat fish and salted greens and vegetables of all kinds, as turnips, lotus and other roots. The use of this half salted, half putrid vegetable diet and the disproportionate consumption of fish cause diseases of the cutaneous order to be very prevalent. Although the labouring classes and artisan population present the appearance of physical hardihood and bodily strength, they soon become aged in constitution, and at thirty years have the prematurely old look of men of forty-five years. The quality of their food is ill suited for sustaining them under their hard toil for daily subsistence. Intoxicating spirits form an additional source of early debility and decay. The reader's recollection is recalled to Dr. Pompe's statement before related to the effect that about one-half of the whole adult population are more or less inebriated by sakee at nine o'clock every evening. It remains only that

the Japanese acquire a vitiated taste for opium, to complete their ruin and hasten their physical decay. Happily at the present time they are exempt from this evil habit, never having learnt the use of this noxious indulgence from their Chinese mercantile visitors, nor having as yet been allured into it by European speculators. The poverty of the Japanese is a better preservative of the race from opium than the disinterestedness of foreign traders or the humanity of professedly Christian governments. Opium is too expensive a luxury to form a very serious danger to men unused to the seduction and compelled to limit their family expenses (exclusive of the rent of their dwelling) to an aggregate sum of ten itzebus (about seventeen shillings) a month.

Pulmonary consumption is not unknown among the natives. Out of a list of seven hundred cases of sickness registered by the Dutch physician, forty-two were cases of this disease, generally brought to him in its final and advanced stages, of which number of pulmonary patients thirty-six died. Though the people have a generally healthy appearance, there is a great mortality among them. If the want of good wholesome food, and copious draughts of sakee, kill their thousands, various forms of another widely-prevalent disease slay their tens of thousands. This is a melancholy picture to draw of the moral and sanitary condition of the local Japanese population, but the statements of well-informed, competent and careful observers warrant the assertion, although various considerations prevent more specific details. Maladies

originating in personal vice or hereditary taint are the great universal scourge, gradually consuming the strength, wasting the energies and enervating all ages, both sexes, and every condition. Aggravated by neglect, their disease secretly consumes them, devastating every class of society, the innocent and guilty alike, rendering almost useless and hopeless the remedy of European medical art. Husbands in the presence of their wives, and wives in the presence of their husbands, show no reserve in making their communications or in answering the questions of the foreign physician. One half of the female sex at some period of their lives and one quarter of the infants at the time of birth, are visited with its marked effects. Half of the diseases which afflict and destroy the local Japanese population are stated to originate in one and the same cause. But I gladly pass away from this uncongenial topic, the omission of all reference to which would have rendered my statements but a half-told tale of truth, and leave the treatment of this subject to physiologists and physicians.

At the present time there are one hundred Europeans in Nagasaki, either living ashore or belonging to the ships in harbour. Out of this number of foreigners not a single individual is now on the sick list; and sometimes a whole fortnight passes away without a case of sickness requiring medical treatment. The climate cannot be considered unhealthy if we judge from the past experience of foreigners, who appear to have enjoyed good health and are capable

of active out-door exercise at nearly every season of the year. The extremes of temperature are never very great; the cold blasts of winter being tempered by a gulf-stream which pours its tepid waters across the Pacific in these latitudes and laves with its genial current the otherwise inclement coast of Japan,—and the high range of the thermometer during the few summer months being compensated and counterbalanced by the refreshing cool southern breeze which blows nearly every day up the entire length of the harbour. The Dutch settlement at Desima is well situated as a summer residence; and the official quarters of the head of the factory furnish a very agreeable refuge from the heat in the cool breezes wafted from the outer ocean. The site now in course of being filled in on the margin of the shore in the vicinity of the present British Consulate, and designed to be built over as the foreign settlement, is unfortunately defective and ill-situated in this respect. It lies too far within the eastern nook of a little bay to receive the cool southern breezes of summer, and it is at the same time sufficiently exposed to suffer from the keen blasts of the south-western winter gales. The summer heat is the only serious disadvantage of the foreign mercantile site. The obvious remedy will be for the merchants to establish their ordinary residence in bungalows on the hill-sides and elevated spots in the neighbourhood available for such purposes, and to fix their offices and godowns in the new settlement conveniently situated at the water's edge. It is to be hoped that the Japanese Government will not

insist on limiting all European residents to the new foreign site, nor attempt to revive under an altered *régime* the traditionary memories of the Dutch settlement at Desima.

The consular returns report the present extent of British trade with the port of Nagasaki as follows:—

From June 13th to December 31st, 1859 (*i.e.* a period of about six months and a half of that year) * there ARRIVED

Vessels with cargo:—
35 ships amounting to - - 13,009 tons.

Vessels in ballast:—
20 ships amounting to - - 8,995 „

During the same period there DEPARTED

Vessels with cargo:—
43 ships amounting to - - 17,371 tons.

Vessels in ballast:—
9 ships amounting to - - 3,673 „

During the half-year July 1st to Dec. 31st, 1859, the IMPORTS consisting of manufactured goods, metals, and various articles of mixed merchandise *from Shanghae* amounted in value to $512,425, which, at 5*s.* each dollar, is equal in sterling to 128,106*l.* 5*s.* The manufactured goods were imported from Europe into Shanghae and thence re-exported to Nagasaki. The other items of imports included sapan-wood for dyeing, Chinese medicinal herbs and indigo.

During the same half-year the EXPORTS from Nagasaki amounted to $870,436, at 5*s.* each dollar equal to

* These statistics refer only to British *trading* vessels, and not to the occasional visits of men-of-war touching at the port.

217,609*l*., consisting of tea, silk, coal, vegetable wax, gall-nuts, copper, gold, in addition to various articles of native luxury for the China market, as sea-weed for jelly, *bêche de mer* or the sea-slug for soup, dried shell-fish, peas and beans.

The prospects of a European trade at the port are represented as moderately fair. Shanghae has been hitherto the *entrepôt* for the foreign trade of Britain and the United States; but a direct trade with Europe is beginning to spring up. Two ships are now loading for London, and others are likely to follow. In the former half of last year (1859), before the establishment of the foreign consulates and the formal opening of the port, there was an irregular foreign trade of larger extent than that which at present exists. Various obstacles have been raised to the extension of European commerce through the jealous fears of the native government, unable as yet to accept fully the altered circumstances of their relations to foreign nations, and trying to interpose official hindrances in the way of a too rapid development of the trade. The known jealousy of the local rulers, the secret fears of the native merchants, the vexatious and restrictive regulations of the custom-house officials, who prove themselves to be almost omnipotent in obstruction and powerless for redressing grievances, have severely taxed the patient forbearance of the foreign consuls, and have tended seriously to embarrass the operations of European merchants. A few of the leading mercantile houses in China have their representatives and agents in Nagasaki, and large fortunes

have been realised by some of the Europeans who were first in the field. The relative values of gold and silver, which were but as five to one, formed a strong temptation to individual foreigners to buy up Japanese gold coins for export; but this source of profit has been stopped by the interference of the native government, and by the rapid rise in the relative price of gold. The European merchants consist principally of young men formerly assistants in mercantile firms in China, who have now established themselves in business as commission agents on their own account.

The harbour of Nagasaki is large and commodious, and offers great facilities to whaling vessels during the winter in obtaining provisions and supplies, possessing advantages over the newly-opened port of Hakodadi in the northern island of Yesso, where the climate is severe in winter and there is sometimes a danger of vessels being frozen up in harbour. At the time of my visit ten whalers were temporarily lying at Nagasaki, and many others had previously touched at the port. They are however unincluded in the above detailed statistics of arrivals and departures of British vessels, all the whaling vessels having been under the American flag with the exception of one French and one Russian.

CHAP. XVI.

CLOSING INCIDENTS OF STAY AT NAGASAKI.

JAPANESE ENGINE-FACTORY. — DIVING-BELL. — "EMPEROR" YACHT.— HOPEFULNESS OF JAPANESE RACE.—EUROPEAN CEMETERY. — FAREWELL SUNDAY SERVICE AMONG EUROPEANS.

I MUST not conclude my account of Nagasaki without relating a visit which we paid to the engine-factory established by the Japanese Government on the western side of the harbour opposite the city, and superintended by a Dutch gentleman with nine European assistants. We landed from our boat at a point of the beach close to the noisy scene of steam-engines, iron-foundries, and workshops in European style. Some hundreds of Japanese were at work, a part of them engaged in casting metal arches for a new lathe-room, some busy in hammering plates of iron on an anvil, and others in superintending the rapid movements of a steam hammer. A steam-engine set in motion a number of fans at each forge. Various handicrafts were exercised. Some were observed making bricks, kneading the lumps of clay in a square mould and placing them in rows upon the kiln for burning. Others again were repairing the iron-work of the stern-post of the Dutch man-of-war

steamer now in harbour, which had lost her rudder and had been delayed some weeks in the attempt to get it replaced by a new one. Each week the same style of despatch from the governor of the city informed the Dutch officials that the tree had been felled in the forest;—then, that it had been lopped of its branches and stripped of its bark;—then, that it had been squared and planed into shape;—until the patience of the Dutch captain had been wellnigh exhausted. The iron-work was now in progress, and there was hope of the steamer being actually got ready for sea. In another part a Japanese artisan newly arrived from the capital was superintending arrangements for the manufacture of swords by a new process. Close by, other native workmen might be seen engaged in casting a metal stand and other sacred appurtenances for some idol on behalf of the governor on the occasion of some approaching festival. At a little jetty adjoining the main establishment a diving-bell was at work, and a number of men were engaged in exploring the bottom and laying in deep water the foundations for a new pier of solid masonry. At the hour of 5 P.M. a whistle gave forth its shrill alarm, and forthwith every workman eagerly abandoned his task. A paper and a tally were given to each man at the close of the day's labour, and these were gathered at the end of the week for deciding the payment of their wages. Native boats were crowded with their cargoes of men returning to the city after their toil was ended.

The Dutch gentlemen who superintend this factory,

do not give very flattering accounts of the zeal of the Japanese Government, or of the industry of the native artisans. Even the few steamers which they have attempted have been failures, scarcely accomplishing two or three knots an hour in smooth water, and being practically useless for a voyage along the coast. A Japanese labourer's day's work in brick-making averages about one hundred bricks, scarcely amounting to one eighth part of that of a skilful workman in Europe. The physical constitution of a native seems incapable of great efforts of continued labour, and the Japanese Government grudges the expenditure entailed by a persevering endeavour to adopt the arts and inventions of foreign manufactories and arsenals.

On our way back we visited the "Emperor" steam yacht two years ago presented in the name of Queen Victoria to the Tycoon of Japan, and now re-named the "Yeddo." Except in general form and dimensions it was at first difficult to recognise the smart little vessel formerly lying in the harbour of Hongkong and kept by her commander Captain Ward in a first-rate condition of neatness and beauty. After mounting the side of the yacht, we were conducted to a forward cabin, and invited to take tea with the native captain and a youth wearing one sword, who spoke a little English. A chronometer of foreign manufacture lay on the table. The machinery of the engine seemed to my unpractised eye to be the portion of the vessel which was best cared for and preserved in neat and cleanly order. The aft-cabin was in a wretched state

of dirt and confusion. Luggage and lumber lay scattered about. The green velvet chairs were now soiled and shabby; the glittering frames of satin wood were covered with accumulated filth; the gilt ornaments were indented and bruised; and the panels of plated mirror glass were tarnished and dull. All looked slovenly and uncomfortable,—a perfect contrast to the elegant little craft which attracted so many admiring visitors at Hongkong. The aft-cabin was appropriated to some local official whose baggage and numerous trunks lay scattered about the unswept and carpetless cabin floor. The second governor of Nagasaki was reported to be about to sail in her to Yeddo. The native engineers seem well able to work the steam machinery. Popular report asserts that the Tycoon has recently made a present of the "Yeddo" steam yacht to the Prince of Fizen as a return gift for the sum of 30,000 gold kobangs contributed towards the rebuilding of the imperial palace lately consumed by fire at Yeddo. Within a cable's length of the screw-steamer presented by the British Queen lay a larger-sized paddle-steamer the gift of the King of Holland to the Tycoon of Japan. She arrived on the previous day from a voyage along the coast. The imperial flag of the Tycoon floated aloft in the breeze, consisting of a large red ball on a white ground. The germ of foreign improvement and of European science has been implanted in the native mind; but we must patiently wait awhile before we see the fruits in any sudden and extensive adoption of innovations. A revolution in the habits

and ideas of twenty centuries is ordinarily a result of tardy growth. The Japanese race has entered on the path of change and imitation of foreign nations. A noble career lies before these children of the "Rising Day;" and a serious responsibility hangs over the subjects and citizens of the western world, that no reaction ensue and no recoil be produced through the recklessness of those who are at once the pioneers of true science and the representatives of pure and undefiled religion before the government and people of Japan.

On the same side of the harbour in which the scenes of Japanese iron-foundries and factories already described are situated, lies also the piece of ground used as a foreign cemetery. The visitor on landing in a sequestered nook on the N.W. extremity of the bay finds himself suddenly transferred from the busy streets of a crowded city into the quiet stillness of rural life, and walking among green fields, village homesteads and verdant coppices. Ascending a little rocky bluff point of shore, we soon stood in the midst of crops of growing corn, orchards of pear and peach trees, and all the simple details of Japanese field-husbandry. The prevailing crops were those of rye and barley, with level parterres of irrigated rice-ground and rape-seed covering the more sloping parts of the undulating hill-sides. On these occasions the agricultural population gathered around us, and in a variety of ways bade us welcome to their rustic homes, showing no dislike towards foreigners and abstaining from all manifestations of a rude curiosity. The

large quantities of rye grown in these parts were explained to us as being used in the manufacture of the celebrated Japanese soy; while rice is the ordinary material employed in making the universal spirituous beverage so often alluded to under the name of sakee.

On more than one occasion we visited these spots. On our first ramble among these country scenes, we were joined by an old Budhist priest, who has long been an inmate of a neighbouring monastery, and has figured somewhat prominently in the funeral solemnities of Europeans formerly buried in this vicinity. In the foreign cemetery about a quarter of a mile from the shore, lying in a sequestered spot and sheltered by the surrounding hills, a number of European graves were to be seen with little head-stones inscribed with the names of the deceased. This Budhist monk receives a fee for every funeral in return for the small piece of ground in which the coffin is laid. Not content with letting off a portion of his glebe, he has been in the habit of following the funeral procession and performing Budhistic rites as a volunteer chaplain over the graves of the Dutch who are buried in this ground. A few months previously my companion was engaged in officiating at the burial of an American seaman at this place, when the old priest joined the procession and commenced folding his palms, handling his rosary, and reciting the Budhist formula of incantations and charms. He was greatly surprised by my companion interrupting him in his recitations and requesting him to desist. This strange

facility of adaptation is explicable on two grounds. On the one hand Budhism in this country is liberal and tolerant; and on the other, this monk might have thought it especially incumbent on him to pursue his priestly art in appeasing a European ghost, and sparing himself and his sacerdotal colleagues the disaster of a haunted locality and ghostly terrors.

A number of Russians, Dutch, Americans and English lie buried in this spot. One old Dutch gravestone bore the date 1778. About fifty foreigners in all have been buried here, of whom twenty were Russians who died in the year 1858—1859 during the detention of a Russian man-of-war on account of repairs. Russian crosses were plentifully conspicuous over the tombs. In the neighbouring monastery court-yard a large and lofty pole still remains as a part of the gymnastic apparatus used in the exercising-ground of the Russians lodged in this locality remote from the city. About two or three hundred Chinese graves were also to be seen, resembling those of Europeans, with flat slabs covering the summit of the tomb, and neatly plastered with stucco at the top. One large handsome obelisk-shaped pillar was in Japanese fashion, and contained the native concubine of one of the Chinese mercantile strangers of a former period. There was also a larger and more costly mausoleum of more finished materials and construction, which formed the receptacle for the bones of the Chinese whose graves had fallen into decay. A project has been recently set on foot for establishing a European cemetery in a spot on the

city side of the harbour; and negotiations with the native authorities have been initiated by the British Consul. The new locality will be more convenient in point of situation; but will lose a great portion of the pleasing associations of beautiful scenery, noiseless tranquillity and remoteness from the crowded city, which attach to this verdant and sequestered spot.

The time was approaching for my departure eastward along the coast to the neighbourhood of Yeddo; and on Sunday May 13th we held the last of the public services at which I was privileged to officiate without interruption during the five weeks of my stay. The uncertain weather and frequent rain caused the number of attendants to fluctuate; and on the last Sunday, being a wet day, only twenty-one persons were present to receive my farewell address. I shall make no further and more detailed allusion to the occasion than to express my deep interest in the welfare of this small isolated community of Europeans, and my earnest prayer that they may be enabled by God's grace to remember their responsibilities and fulfil their duties as the sole representatives of Western Christendom before the pagan population of this city. In countries and societies thus remote from Europe, intimacies and friendships partake of a more familiar intercourse, and the civilities and amenities of daily life possess a more cementing influence among persons of widely-differing dispositions and pursuits than is ordinarily observable in countries nearer home. Much of this spirit pervaded my intercourse with

the foreign residents, who evinced a ready disposition to make my visit agreeable and to promote my means of observation. There are not a few of them in whom I shall ever retain a lively interest. While every one acquainted with their peculiar circumstances of moral danger will be disposed to avoid harsh judgments and to cherish the more hopeful view of human character, it will be well also for the members of this foreign society, and especially the young men setting out on the path of untried Eastern life, to remember that the great principles of the decalogue are not an affair of geographical limits of latitude and longitude, and that any deviation from the strict rule of Christian holiness or moral virtue can claim no palliation or extenuation from the peculiar temptations of Japanese life in the great day of final account.

The Sunday services are still continued by my friend Mr. Williams; and his recent letters to me speak of an undiminished number of attendants.

The arrival of the "Forest Eagle" after a period of several days overdue from Shanghae with a number of the British Military Train on board, and officers of the Commissariat, relieved the European community from a heavy load of anxiety, and was also the signal for my preparations to embark for the Bay of Yeddo.

The sailing of the British steam-transport "Chusan" was dependent on the arrival of the other vessel; and I received a summons to embark on board this steamer, having been favoured by the united kindness

of the captain, the chief of the Commissariat and the senior naval officer in port *, with an eligible opportunity of proceeding to the port of Kanagawa. I went on board in the evening of Tuesday May 15th, and at daybreak the next morning we were under steam and slowly emerging from among the picturesque hills, bays and islands of the outer waters of the port of Na asaki.

* The late Captain Colvile, R.N., of H.M.S. "Camilla" since wrecked with loss of all on board off the Japanese coast.

CHAP. XVII.

VOYAGE TO KANAGAWA.

VOYAGE ALONG THE JAPANESE COAST.— KEWSEW. — SIKOK. — NIPHON. —SIMODA.—BAY OF YEDDO.—ARRIVAL AT KANAGAWA. — YAKONEENS. —VISIT TO YOKUHAMA. — MOUNT FUSI. — MORAL CONDITION OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT. — CURRENCY QUESTIONS. — BRITISH ENVOY'S DESPATCH.

HITHERTO the reader has accompanied me to the common scenes of Japanese daily life, and has had opportunities of judging of the native character and forming his estimate of the relative position occupied by the Japanese people in the scale of national civilisation, as compared with that of the other countries of the world. We now proceed to the neighbourhood of Yeddo, the far-famed localities of the imperial capital, the palaces of the great territorial princes, and the central seat of Japanese government. The great political parties in the empire,—the intrigues, conspiracies, suicides and assassinations which at the present time make up no small part of the current history of the nation and its rulers,—will necessarily receive a greater prominence in our notices of life in the metropolis of Japan. A voyage of 700 miles will transfer us into new scenes and spheres of observation.

During the whole of our first day's voyage we pur-

sued a southerly course down the western side of the great island of Kewsew ("Nine Provinces"). We coasted along the province of Satsuma forming the almost independent territory of the powerful prince bearing that titular name, and soon after doubled the most southerly promontory of Japan, jutting out from the province of Osumi. From this our course lay nearly north-east towards the bay of Yeddo. Early in the evening we passed through Van Dieman's Straits in the neighbourhood of an island containing an active volcano, which the cloudy state of the weather concealed from our view. We were favoured with generally prevailing smooth water; and a breeze from the N.W. helped us onward. On the second day we were off the southern coast of the island of Sikok ("Four States"). At its eastern end lie the deep bay and strait which lead to the imperial city of Ohosaka and to the sacred capital of the empire, Miako, the metropolis of religion, science, learning and sanctity throughout Japan, — the seat of the Mikado, the spiritual emperor, pope or ecclesiastical primate of the nation. On the third day we were coasting along the shores of the island of Niphon Proper, which is the largest and principal island of the kingdom, and gives its name to the whole of *Japan*, according to the softened mode of pronunciation of this name prevailing both in the Japanese and the Chinese languages. On the morning of the fourth day soon after sunrise we sighted Cape Idzu the southern point of the province of that name. Simoda one of the cities opened by treaty to foreign

commerce, lies just within the point, — a place of considerable interest as the scene of a destructive earthquake and storm-wave which in 1854 wrecked a Russian ship-of-war and a vast number of native vessels. Many of the Japanese crews were swept away by the returning mass of waters, and an almost incredible number perished in the waves. Cables from the Russian vessel were thrown out to rescue the sinking Japanese crews. Ropes were cast close to them, and the means of safety was placed within their reach. But loyalty was more strong than love of life. Law asserted its supremacy over these victims of the cruel mandate which had gone forth from their rulers that no intercourse should be held with the strangers on pain of death. Destruction by drowning was welcomed in preference to immediate safety by means of unlawful rescue. The ocean received its victims, and Japanese law asserted its relentless inexorable ascendency.

The port of Simoda is open to the sea in one direction, and exposed to occasional storms. On this account and its general ineligibility as a place of trade it has been abandoned by Europeans.

We sailed for some hours up an outer bay until we reached the narrow Straits of Uraga, which extending six miles across form the entrance to the spacious inner sheltered waters which are comprised under the general designation of the Bay of Yeddo. Leaving Cape Sagami on our left at the entrance of the straits we steamed along its western side within a mile or two of the beach which here rises into a succession of

low hills covered with green, and in other points is lined with picturesque villages. Temples and custom-house stations one after another come into view as we open each little bay and approach our anchorage. Twenty miles of sailing brought us within sight of the foreign shipping on the left or western side of the Bay of Yeddo. We passed the town of Uragawa and the spot where the American ship "Morrison" in 1837 bearing back some shipwrecked Japanese to their native country, was barbarously fired upon and repelled from these shores. Doubling Treaty Point, so named by Commodore Perry after the successful negotiation of a Japanese treaty on the neighbouring shore, we soon reached our destination and came to anchor in the little arm of the bay which lies between Kanagawa and Yokuhama, at a distance of eighteen miles below the city of Yeddo itself. I was soon on my way in a boat to the former place about two miles distant, and at sunset on the evening of May 19th found a temporary home with Rev. S. W. Brown, a newly-arrived missionary from the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States, a valued friend, formerly resident at Hongkong as Principal of the Morrison School, and now after a lapse of several years returning with his family to the East as one of the first Protestant missionaries to Japan. He and his wife with their daughter and two younger children were now settled permanently in this new station, and had entered upon the preparatory work of studying the language and conciliating the good-will of the natives by the kindly offices of Christian charity. It was a great pleasure to renew my

friendship with these beloved friends after fourteen years of separation. They were lodged in a Budhist temple, and furnished me with a room during my stay in their quarters. The Bonzes had with their usual liberality let portions of the monastery to three newly-arrived missionary families; and a fourth was residing at a few hundred yards' distance in a similar locality. The idols were removed from their station; or if too large for removal, were boarded up by a little woodwork and screened from view. A moderate rent induced them also to part with their garden and a small paddock of tillage-ground in the rear, so that my hosts had the comfort of a good kitchen-garden for vegetables, and the luxury of flowers, shrubs and fruit-trees of rarest form and colour at a small cost, to mitigate some of the inconveniences of their isolation in a foreign land. The entrance to their temple court was jealously watched by the local Japanese authorities. A little guardhouse was erected at the gate, and relays of armed *Yakoneens* or guards were at all times on duty,—professedly on account of the desire of the native officials to protect the strangers from assault and assassination by the agents of the national party adverse to the opening of the country to foreigners,—but in reality (so it was generally suspected) with the determination to establish a system of espionage on the movements of foreigners, and to check as much as possible all ingress and egress of natives for the purpose of holding communication with the missionaries. At the time of my arrival there were real grounds for a feeling of insecurity on the

part of foreigners; and this portion of the reasons specified by the Japanese officials for the safe custody of Europeans might have been warranted by the true facts of the case. The subject of Japanese politics and the mutual relation of the two great antagonistic parties in the state were a perfect riddle which it was very difficult to solve at this time. The facts and observations which will be interspersed amid the narrative of my daily movements, will help the reader in forming his own opinion on these matters, and in gathering the materials for a generally correct estimate of the present internal condition and political prospects of the Japanese empire.

On the day after my arrival I was present at a Sunday service established by the missionaries for the benefit of the few foreigners resident in Kanagawa, and held in another portion of the same monastery occupied as a dwelling by Dr. Hepburn, formerly a missionary among the Chinese at Amoy and now recommencing his medical missionary labours after some years' residence in the United States. The salubrity of the Japanese climate had enabled both these excellent missionary families to reoccupy a post in the mission-field, after being compelled by failure of health to quit the work in China.

On the following day I crossed with Mr. Brown from Kanagawa to the opposite side of the bay in which the new settlement of Yokuhama has been raised. Kanagawa itself, an inconsiderable town containing about 5000 people, is one of the consular ports of Japan opened by treaty to European com-

merce. It is situated on the northern side of the small armlet or little bay opening out into the Bay of Yeddo, and stretching nearly three miles across from point to point. Yokuhama occupies the southern side, and about ten or fifteen foreign vessels at this time were lying at the anchorage intermediate between the two places. The water is deeper and the landing from boats is more convenient at Yokuhama than at Kanagawa, where the water is very shallow and the sea retreats to a considerable distance from the shore at low tide. Kanagawa is also situated in the great thoroughfare of the Tokaido or imperial highway leading to Yeddo, by which the lords and princes of the empire make their annual journeys in state to the capital, attended by a vast concourse of retainers and honoured by the public demonstratious of respect peculiar to grandees of their exalted rank. The Japanese Government is not unnaturally apprehensive lest the presence of foreigners and the spectacle of men standing upright and gazing on the passing throng of princes and their retinue, while the whole surrounding local Japanese populace fall on their knees and remain in a crouching posture until the procession is past, may tend to arouse the pride of these haughty territorial barons and precipitate a collision and assault from their sensitive and vindictive retainers. The Prince of Owari lately proceeded through Kanagawa *en route* to Yeddo, and my host calculated the whole time occupied by the princely *cortège* with the norimons, baggage and eques-

trians in passing through the street, to amount to nearly two hours. Every Japanese remained on his knees as the grandee's norimon was borne along; but after the four or five next norimons had passed, the people considered themselves absolved from the necessity ofkne eling and rose to a standing posture to witness the remaining part of the spectacle. A slight provocation or withholding of customary respect on the part of foreigners towards the great territorial lords might cause bloodshed and excite the conservative and anti-European party to open acts of resistance to the new and more liberal policy of the Imperial Government. The British and American Consuls reside in Kanagawa, and their respective governments seem disposed to retain that position. But the majority of foreign merchants, amounting to above one hundred persons, all classes included, find it more convenient to reside at Yokuhama; and the native authorities have exerted themselves to the utmost in rendering the place suitable and adapted to the operations of trade.

Open boats constantly ply between the two opposite sides of the bay; and a number of ferry-boats are registered and controlled by the agents of the custom-house, who leave no means untried of establishing a check on the movements of foreigners and restraining within their own power the extent of native intercourse with the new mercantile settlement. Batteries of considerable size are in course of erection on the northern beach, and a new island is being gradually raised upon a shoal in the harbour as a fortification to

command the bay. A breakwater is already formed and a long causeway connects the island battery with the mainland, planted with young trees and forming a pleasing object from the roadstead. Every indication is seen of the restrictive policy of the present administration and of preparations being hastened forward in the view of possible hostilities with foreign nations.

The view from the bay, if not so full of striking grandeur as that from the harbour of Nagasaki, is not devoid of interest and beauty. The neighbouring shore contains no great elevations of mountain, nor any remarkable points of romantic boldness of scenery; but abounds with signs of fertility and verdant loveliness which a nearer view and personal visit never fail to confirm. If a more sober aspect characterises the physical appearance of the adjoining country, it contains also elements of picturesque beauty peculiarly its own, when the newly-arrived visitor has leisure and opportunity of exploring the rich and teeming valleys and dales which creep around the hill-sides, and render this portion of Japan one endless succession of well-watered, highly-cultivated gardens. Mount Fusi-yama at the distance of seventy miles was on most days discernible by the naked eye, rising 14,000 feet above the level of the ocean and begirt with a white covering of snow descending halfway from the summit towards the base. This glorious object in the landscape forms the almost unvarying pictorial illustration of rural beauty, as seen in the native articles of *vertu* and the richly-gilded orna-

ments of lacquered ware. The vast elevation of this king of mountains meets the eye in every artistic design of native workmanship; and Fusi-yama towers aloft in the background of every picture. For 180 years this great volcanic mountain has been free from eruptions, but has lately resumed a partial and temporary activity in slight emissions of cloud and smoke. A renewal of its fiery eruptions, although likely to interrupt the agreeable visits of foreign excursionists to its crater, would probably be a new element of security to this earthquake-stricken district of country by reopening a safety-valve for the pent-up igneous forces stored in its interior furnaces and liable at any time to break forth in destruction upon the circumjacent region.

We landed at Yokuhama between two piers protected by deep palisades of wooden piles, and were at once at the scene of Commodore Perry's negotiation of the American treaty, the temporary structure raised for that purpose on a previously uninhabited point of the shore having been recently converted into the spacious offices of the Japanese custom-house. Here on a level sandy spot extending a few hundred yards in each direction a foreign settlement of single-storied wooden houses and warehouses had speedily arisen, and all the busy scenes of European and Japanese traffic were visible. Japanese coolies, European and American sailors, native officials and foreign mercantile agents, gave an air of business and animation to the place; and every variety of costume from the oriental garb of the country to the light

and easy vestments of every hue, pattern and device, which Europeans feel themselves at liberty to adopt in these remote settlements, was conspicuous among the moving crowd in the newly-formed road lining the shore.

There was a sense of negligence and discomfort throughout the whole place; and everything was in a state of transition towards something which it was hoped would be improvement. Weather-boarded houses on the ground, which served the united purpose of godown and dwelling, were in process of conversion; and the ready appliances of European inventiveness and native skill were set in motion for rendering them rain-proof during the now commencing wet season, and cool during the succeeding intense heat of the brief summer. Sliding partitions divided by framework tastefully decorated with white silken flowered wall-paper, were rapidly changing the naked dreary warehouse-rooms into convenient and neat-looking domiciles. On the whole it would not severely tax a European's self-denial or power of self-adaptation to existing circumstances, to render the ordinary course of life at Yokuhama moderately pleasant and sufficiently agreeable.

A considerable trade has sprung up at Yokuhama in silk, tea, copper, vegetable oil, and other articles of Japanese produce. But the difficulties of money-exchange, and the arbitrary value placed on native coin, have operated as serious obstructions to the development of foreign commerce at the port. A more serious hindrance to the enlargement of trade

is apprehended from the policy of the government in endeavouring to limit foreigners to this new settlement and preventing their residence beyond certain appointed boundaries. The Japanese officials seem bent on the determination to form a second Desima at this port, and to cut off Yokuhama from the adjoining country by a line of newly-dug canals drawn as a cordon around the town and intended to separate and confine the European inhabitants in the enclosed quarter. Cotemporaneously with this attempt of geographical circumscription they have also endeavoured to render Yokuhama an attractive locality to young unmarried foreigners by establishing at the edge of the settlement and on a site approached by a narrow drawbridge over the canal, one of those infamous public institutions which have been already adverted to, containing its two hundred female inmates dispersed over a spacious series of apartments and all under government regulation and control. Not content with these flagitious methods of corrupting the foreign residents, the native officials contributed every facility for the perpetration of domestic vice and impurity. Young men were encouraged to negotiate through the custom-house the terms of payment and the selection of a partner in their dissolute mode of living. It is to be feared that the snare has not been set in vain; and Kanagawa was represented to me by persons generally well informed on local matters, as a deplorable scene of demoralisation and profligate life.

The time of my arrival was one of excitement, irri-

tation and partial insecurity produced by the irregularities of individual foreigners and some recent assassinations of apparently unoffending Europeans. The published circular of the British Consul and a despatch of Her Majesty's envoy at Yeddo, Mr. Rutherford Alcock, severely commenting on some recent proceedings of individual members of the local mercantile community, had given to the foreign residents at Yokuhama and Kanagawa an unenviable notoriety in the pages of the newspaper press throughout the civilised world, and left a smarting sense of humiliation even among the more respectable portion of their number who were raised above suspicion of complicity in the acts which had called forth that grave and merited public rebuke.

The shipment of gold currency had presented too powerful a temptation to foreigners; and a clear gain of one hundred per cent. on such transactions had led them eagerly to exchange Mexican dollars into the native silver itzebu coins for the purpose of buying up gold kobangs for export. This opened a new source of irritation to the Japanese Government, and resulted at last in a temporary stoppage of all exchanges of coin at the custom-house. The desire to obtain a large supply of silver itzebus was so universal on this account that a regulated scale was fixed of the number to be issued to each foreigner, and such claims were regularly forwarded daily to the custom-house. Such was the emulation and rivalry between individual foreigners that fictitious names, sometimes of a ribald character, were sent in and demands for an

almost fabulous amount of silver coins were entered. Some of the claims were expressed in a long line of figures which it would require almost a lifetime to count one by one, and were pressed upon the Japanese in terms bordering at least upon menace and insult. A somewhat sweeping notification in the English newspapers at Shanghae and Hongkong had involved the whole community in the disgrace connected with these practices. It was a pleasant part of my experience to make the acquaintance of some few English and American gentlemen who, I have every reason to feel assured, were unimplicated in these and similar proceedings, and who deem it their due to be absolved from this public stigma. In such a state of matters, it is obvious that good men must suffer in common with the ill-disposed; and their only method of exculpation and self-defence is to rally around the standard of honesty, truth and fair dealing, to diffuse a sound healthy tone of public opinion, and to form a moral phalanx of true-hearted Christian men who shall discountenance such exceptionable acts and give a higher character to the community. Until it shall be proved that such acts as drew forth the British envoy's severe animadversions have been visited by the mercantile community at large with a reprobation of the evil deed and a repudiation of the evil-doer, the society among which such violations of truth and decorum prevail will unfortunately, but not unreasonably, suffer in all its members, and the good and the bad be involved in one common censure and discredit.

CHAP. XVIII.

INCIDENTS AT YOKUHAMA AND KANAGAWA.

STREETS AT YOKUHAMA. — RECENT ASSASSINATION OF TWO DUTCH CAPTAINS. — PRINCE OF MITO. — EXCESSES OF INDIVIDUAL FOREIGNERS. —FEELING TOWARDS NATIVE RACES.— A CHINESE IN DIFFICULTY. — LOCAL CUSTOM-HOUSE. — SECRET OBSTACLES TO FOREIGN TRADE. — KANAGAWA. — EARTHQUAKES. — SURROUNDING COUNTRY. — JAPANESE GUARDS.

THE streets of Yokuhama are wide and cross each other generally at right angles, containing on either side merchants' godowns and offices, or the warehouses and shops in which the Japanese expose their wares for sale. These are brought down from Yeddo a distance of twenty miles, and consist of an abundant variety of lacquered ware of rarest quality, china ware of excellent design but inferior in transparent delicacy of material to that sold at Nagasaki, old bronzes, and collections of native curiosities and articles of *vertu* brought (as everything exposed for sale in these parts is declared to be brought) from Miako, the great centre of taste and metropolis of fashion. The utmost friendliness prevails amongst foreign purchasers and native shopkeepers, who may be seen driving their astute bargains, a loud clapping of the hands by

both parties being deemed an irrevocable signal of assenting to terms.

In one part of the public streets we passed the scene of a murderous onslaught where a few weeks previously two Dutch merchant captains at an early hour of the evening, having left a friend's dinner-table and pursuing their way back to their lodging, were ruthlessly cut down by the blows of assassins. A Japanese servant quickly carried word to their entertainer of the massacre which had occurred. Some foreigners rushed to the spot where a few minutes before the unsuspecting victims had been attacked. A hand, as if uplifted to avert the descending blow and severed at the first moment of attack, lay by itself on the road apparently left behind in flight some twenty or thirty yards from the spot on which the two bodies had fallen covered with gory wounds and mutilated almost beyond recognition by successive cuts of the keen-edged heavy-descending two handed swords. The spectacle was one which could be explained only by the supposition of some inordinate passion of revenge having prompted the perpetrators to the deed. No palpable motive could be assigned. The two Dutchmen bore unexceptionable characters for inoffensiveness and prudence. The whole affair appeared an unfathomable secret, a riddle incapable of being solved. The Prince of Mito's name was brought upon the *tapis* as the fomenter of popular violence against foreigners, and the intriguing spirit desirous of embroiling the present imperial administration in a collision with European powers. Even

this solution, which contained some colour of pretext and grounds of probability, failed to yield an entirely satisfactory hypothesis. The Prince of Mito (to whose antecedent and present history reference will again be made) is at this time the *bête noire* of Japanese politics—the *deus ex machinâ* brought upon the stage on every occasion to explain difficulties and to terminate discussion. It is hard to understand why, if this disaffected grandee desires to precipitate a rupture with foreign nations by the assassination of individual foreigners, he has not instigated his emissaries to strike higher in the social scale, and to take the life of the high public functionaries of Britain, France or the United States, now isolated in a comparatively unprotected state in the midst of the capital at Yeddo.

The deed is doubtless to be referred either to a sudden outburst of political fanaticism on the part of some agent of the conservative anti-foreign faction in Japan; or (which is equally or even more probable) to a mistaken personal identity on the part of individual Japanese burning with revengeful desire to stifle in blood the rankling memory of some indignity and wrong suffered from individual foreigners. Some persons have supposed that it was prompted by revenge on the Dutch nation for certain punishments recently inflicted upon some Japanese on the representation of Dutch officials. It more probably arose from private pique and malice engendered by ill-treatment and humiliation received at the hands of some reckless foreign sailors or some overbearing

captain, who in the darkness of the evening and the hurry of the deed were confounded with the personal appearance of the two unfortunate men, whose sad fate has given occasion for this digression. Let the following fact supply its fair measure of plausibility to such a theory in accounting for the deed. Captain ——, formerly of the American vessel the ——, on the day preceding the assassination was summoned by a Japanese official to attend at the custom-house respecting some irregular transactions in the course of business. The native officer was peremptorily ordered to quit the room and bear back a defiant reply to his superior officers. He was sent back with another message to the captain, who enraged by this importunity assaulted the custom-house officer, broke his sword and kicked him out of the house. On the next evening the two Dutch captains fell by the hand of some native officers, for no other persons are allowed to wear swords or could venture to attack a foreigner with impunity and without fear of accusation by the passers-by. The American captain (whose name now lies before me) profited by the hint and took his passage in a vessel leaving the port on the next day. Amid the obscurity which attends this melancholy tale of blood, the reckless and violent misconduct of this man affords (it is to be feared) no unlikely clue to the real inciting motive.

Another similar instance came to my knowledge. An American captain met in the streets of Nagasaki one of those reputed disgraced public functionaries

who, having their features masked by a deep hat of beehive shape hanging down to their shoulders and effectually screening their face, are condemned to procure a livelihood by begging. Unable to satisfy his curiosity in any other way, he boasted of having knocked the cumbrous head-piece off the mendicant's shoulders and sent it rolling along the pavement. Such acts as these are dangerous experiments among an excitable, vindictive and treacherous race.

Foreign residents, whether Europeans or Americans, who come to these eastern lands, are not ordinarily more reckless, overbearing, or oppressive than persons of the same class in their native country. The unfortunately true fact of the case is that Europeans in every part of the world too often carry with them a contemptuous dislike of the aboriginal natives, and demean themselves with the air of a superior and conquering race even in countries where they are strangers barely tolerated by the governing powers and are regarded (sometimes with the semblance of real truth) as inferiors in civilisation. Individual foreigners of unblemished private life and not deficient in kindly benevolence of heart, sometimes act in the presence of the natives as if a different code of social morals and relative bearing prevailed in their estimate of right and wrong. I have seen Englishmen and others of my acquaintance in different parts of Japan riding at a rapid pace through the villages and suburbs of cities amid crowds of people, who had to scamper in hurried movement from side to side to avoid being knocked down, and who may doubt-

less be supposed to view with no kind feelings the presence of such equestrians. In such cases there was perhaps but little danger of serious casualties, and the riders felt confidence in their powers of managing their steeds. Such scenes, however, entail annoyance on the native population and may bring danger on foreigners themselves. A native gentleman with stately and formal gait pacing the high road in all the composed dignity deemed suitable to his class, does not relish the joke of having to rush in disordered fright out of the way of a galloping horse, and is rendered somewhat irate by the consciousness of having lost self-respect and of being lowered in the estimation of his inferiors by the unseemly spectacle of his nervousness before the plebeian crowd. In short, we must unlearn much of our East Indian pride of conquest and arrogant assumption of superiority of race, before either our phraseology or our manners towards the natives will be a true reflection of the spirit and the example of the religion of Jesus Christ.

The Chinese who dwell at Yokuhama attached to foreign mercantile houses, are by no means free from symptoms of overbearing conduct towards the Japanese. During my stay one subject of the "Celestial empire" carried his recklessness so far as to commit a violent assault on a Japanese, beating him violently with a bamboo club and leaving him insensible and in a half-dying state. He was forthwith seized, bound with tight cords around the wrists and arms, and led off pinioned by the Japanese officers to a place of custody. Considerable excitement prevailed respect-

ing the issue, and the daily expected death of the injured man was awaited by all classes of natives, determined on having blood for blood and a life for a life. I went to the custom-house in the hope of seeing the Chinese, and ascertaining from him all the facts of the case. The native officials allowed me to proceed over the establishment and showed every sign of civility; but persisted in declaring (what I afterwards discovered to be a correct statement) that the Chinese was confined in a prison at the distance of three miles. The Japanese interpreters manifested considerable excitement in the affair. One of them kept repeating in his imperfect English, "He shall die immediately — he shall die immediately" — from which we were at first disposed to infer that he (the Chinaman) was about to be put to death immediately, but which in more correct English we afterwards discovered to mean that he (the Japanese wounded man) was at the point of death. As to the Chinaman himself, he at first talked largely and menacingly; but finding that British consular protection would not be extended to him, he quietly resigned himself to his fate, and believed himself to have made all needful reparation to the injured man and to mankind in general by his professed willingness to submit to capital punishment in the event of the death of the Japanese:—"If the Japanese dies, I am willing to lose my head"!

The Japanese however did not die, and the Chinaman was delivered up to the British Consul, by whom he was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty dollars for his

offence and to be deported in the first vessel to his native country from Japan.

During the time of my passing through the custom-house, the governor or (in more accurate terms) one of the intendants of customs and regulators of foreign affairs sent down from Yeddo to this port, was carried out of the establishment. The people in the streets dropped on their knees and remained crouching on their heels until his norimon was borne past. A vice-governor walked through the main court with half a dozen attendants and javelin-men carrying jingling rods and poles aloft, and bearing behind him a trefoil-formed spear-head as the emblem and insignia of his rank. The native officials appear to retain in their intercourse with Europeans the contemptuous depreciation of the mercantile class which prevails in the country, where traders and merchants, however prosperous and wealthy, occupy one of the lowest steps in the social scale and stand some degrees beneath artisans, carpenters and stonemasons in popular estimation. It is probably this feeling which leads them to underrate the importance of commercial privileges and to misunderstand the policy of European nations in seeking new outlets for our trade. They throw many impediments in the way of foreign commerce by the same custom-house restrictions as sometimes occur at Nagasaki, and by employing intimidation against native sellers to deter them from bringing their produce direct to the foreign merchant. One Japanese silk-dealer came to an English merchant and in my presence com-

plained of the native officials laying three per cent. secret duty on all the bales of silk which he had ready to be transported for sale at Yokuhama. Another shopkeeper had a superior pair of lacquered folding-door screens which he was willing to sell by private contract to a foreigner at his own house, but which he was prohibited to remove from his warehouse without a special permit and previous payment of a per-centage of value to the Japanese custom-house. These restrictions on free open dealings and exchange of commodities, coupled with the absolute control exercised by the native authorities over the ferries, roads and all means of approach to the foreign trading settlement, operate as an effective curtailment on foreign commerce and are likely to retard the full development of the resources of Japanese trade. The large exports of native silk a few months ago greatly alarmed the Japanese Government with the fear of a scarcity and exorbitant prices for that general material of native dress. In ignorance of the fundamental laws of political economy they laid an impost of three per cent. on silk, and thus helped to close up a source of national profit and imperial wealth, instead of encouraging native industry and promoting the material prosperity of the country. The more hopeful elements of our commercial prospects and political relations with the Japanese consist in the friendliness of the common people, the free-trade predilections of some of the territorial princes of the maritime provinces who have begun to appreciate the material advantages of commercial deal-

ings with foreigners, the shrewd imitativeness and desire of improvement inherent in the Japanese race, and a gradual loosening of the prejudices of the Imperial Government by contact with the diplomatists and statesmen of Western Christendom. A higher standard of social morality among Europeans may be expected also to bear its legitimate fruits in improving the tone of international amity and good-will, when the true representatives of the Christian civilisation of Britain and the United States shall have flocked to this land in greater number, and when the disorderly elements of Californian adventurers, Portuguese desperadoes, runaway sailors, piratical outlaws and the moral refuse of European nations who hasten as the first settlers to every new region and infest with their lawlessness and violence the aboriginal races of the East, shall be swept away by the strong arm of law, or be driven elsewhere by the moral sense and united protest of an improved public opinion.

The streets of Kanagawa are occupied by an inferior class of shops, and there is nothing striking in the appearance of the place. It has experienced its full share of the desolating ravages of earthquakes, and six or seven years ago several hundreds of people were buried by a landslip from the extremity of the little hill, which at the height of about a hundred feet hangs over one portion of the town and was violently convulsed by an earthquake. My host had experienced ten shocks of earthquake during the eight months of his stay. One occurred as the

vessel in which I sailed entered the bay, unperceived of course by us, but somewhat alarming to persons on shore. My friend was aroused by the frames of pictures rattling against the wall. An American gentleman walking in a cemetery, suddenly felt the tombstones vibrating under his feet and the pedestals of the monumental pillars visibly shaken and moved from their position. The American Consul made a precipitate retreat from the house and a flight into the open air to avoid the apprehended crash of falling beams and timbers. On one occasion as we were commencing our family devotions, we paused through the few moments of a brief shock during which the wooden framework of our temple-dwelling vibrated with a tremulous sound. Such occurrences soon become an ordinary matter to foreign residents; and the Japanese themselves calculate on some city of the empire being swallowed up by an earthquake on an average once in seven years.

If the violent convulsions of nature are sometimes fatal to the inhabitants of the country, the vast catastrophic disruptions in the outward crust of our planet have apparently tended to render the geological conformation of the soil eminently conducive to fertility and the increase of the agricultural capabilities of these parts. The whole neighbouring district is one great garden luxuriant with vegetable produce and teeming with verdant beauty. We occasionally rode on horseback a few miles into the country to the north and west of Kanagawa, passing through scenes unsurpassed in picturesque loveliness in any

part of the world. Crops of wheat, barley and rice occupied every rood of ground. A deep rich black loamy soil prevails throughout the neighbouring district. Not a spot is uncultivated, nor any portion left in fallow. An endless and uninterrupted succession of cereal crops seems to produce no prejudicial effects on the inexhaustible fruitfulness of the soil, favoured with a genial temperature and watered by frequent showers of fertilising rain. Every little knoll and eminence is covered with topes of fir or coppices of cedar; while along the borders of the villages or the enclosures of their farm homesteads a line of gracefully drooping bamboos fringes with its verdant colours the variegated landscape. Trees of finest timber and richest foliage are dotted in regularly planted rows on the hill-sides in every spot less adapted for tillage or remote from irrigation. The Japanese are among the best and most skilful arboriculturists in the world; and every rising undulation of surface bears testimony to their taste in planting trees. The cedar and cypress tribes were peculiarly beautiful; but among them all the *Cryptomeria Japonica* stood forth pre-eminently conspicuous for its stately height and wide-spreading arms. Whole avenues of these noble trees sometimes suddenly burst upon our view, lining each side of the rural pathway. Long deep lanes intersect the valleys or run around the bases of the hills, luxuriant with foliage and almost blocking up the way with creepers and honeysuckles. Cottages and refreshment-houses succeed each other at short intervals, indicating by

their general appearance the prevalence of contentment and moderate plenty among the inmates. Flowers too lent their charm in cheering the poor man's dwelling and diffusing abroad the poetry of nature. The ridges of their houses were often seen formed into a parterre on the summit of the sloping thatched roof, in which irises displayed their purple hue and evidenced the taste of the humble owners. Rivulets and meandering streams poured along their gurgling waters, furnishing a ready supply for irrigating the level rice-grounds in the lowest valleys, and refreshing the wearied traveller with their still and gentle murmur.

Everywhere the same friendly disposition and orderly demeanour were perceptible among the various classes of people whom we met. No country in the East would afford greater attractions as a place of residence to Europeans than these parts of Japan, if the native government could be induced to abandon fully and for ever their policy of seclusion, and the common people were left at liberty to obey the promptings of their own kindly nature. The only disagreeable sensation which formed a drawback to the full enjoyment of such excursions, was the remembrance of recent assassinations and a consular notification advising all British subjects not to leave their dwellings after dark. Even while walking through the town native watchmen often guarded or professed to guard us during our rambles. After sunset it was a perilous undertaking to venture abroad without such an escort. Some of my friends doubted the neces-

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A JAPANESE DWELLING OF THE BETTER CLASS.

sity of such a precaution; but no sensible man of common prudence is inclined to relish the idea that he is making himself the subject of an experiment wherein failure involves destruction. The Prince of Mito was made, as usual, the bugbear of every foreigner disposed to stray a little distance from his home, and secret emissaries were reported as prowling in the neighbourhood on the alert for opportunities of bloodshed. And yet, if this disaffected grandee were really bent on the assassination of foreigners, the slender enclosure which protected our temple from invasion and the garden which closed in our unguarded rear, opposed no insurmountable obstacles to a hostile incursion in the dead of night and the murder of every foreign tenant before an alarm could be given or assistance be afforded.

After dining one evening at the American Consul's a quarter of a mile distant, our route on our return lay partly through the streets and partly over some fields. He accompanied us down the little hill on which his own agreeable temple-residence and flower-garden are situated, the whole way to our home, attended by Yakoneens wearing two swords and by a number of lantern-bearers. On our arrival at the barricaded entrance to our own temple court, we had to arouse our sleeping guards in the wooden hut erected close by. They served to keep up appearances and helped to make foreigners believe in their own insecurity and the imprudence of distant solitary excursions; but against the Prince of Mito and his armed assassins they were useless for every purpose of safety and defence.

CHAP. XIX.

ARRIVAL AT YEDDO.

JOURNEY TO YEDDO. — SCENES ON THE WAY. — KAWASATI. — RIVER LOCO. — PUBLIC REFECTORY-HOUSE. — FEMALE ATTENDANTS. — SINAGAWA. — APPROACH TO YEDDO. — BRITISH LEGATION. — EARTHQUAKE.

A VISIT to Yeddo and an actual residence of eight days in the imperial capital of Japan by a foreigner and an Englishman, would ten years ago have appeared an expectation impossible to be realised within the lifetime of the present generation. The permanent location of a British envoy and the regular establishment of a diplomatic mission in the vicinity of the Imperial Court and in close neighbourhood to the palaces of the great Daimios and feudal lords of Japan, are among the strange events of this marvellous age of progress. The scruples and prejudices of the native government have been respected; and the city of Yeddo itself will not be thrown open to the general community of mercantile and unofficial subjects of Western nations having treaty relations with Japan, until the first day of January in the year 1862. Even then it is doubtful whether any increased facilities for promoting foreign commerce will result from the removal of the restrictions which at the present time limit foreigners within remote boundaries near Kanagawa and at some distance from

the city, sufficient to counterbalance the dangers arising from irritating the Japanese rulers by a premature spectacle of their own fancied humiliation, and from the occasional collisions and breaches of the peace attendant on a sudden influx of every class of mercantile and seafaring strangers. Under the present system no one is allowed to visit the capital except official persons and the invited guests of the British minister. A regular passport is provided, and a relay of Yakoneens is appointed to guard the foreign traveller to the capital. I was fortunate in belonging to the favoured class of privileged visitors; and all my arrangements in preparation for my journey were expedited through the kindness of my official friends in Yeddo and at Kanagawa.

At 7 A.M. on the morning of May 25th my little troop of norimon-bearers, luggage-carriers and guards was marshalled in the courtyard of our temple. The rain had descended in torrents during the night, and my native companions in travel were arrayed in habiliments and integuments which effectually excluded the falling showers, but well-nigh extinguished all marks of their personal identity; shrouded and buried, as they were, in folds of glazed oil-paper or the shaggy covering of plaited straw over-cloaks, with rattan-hats projecting like a roof over their shoulders and sending down the dripping stream clear of their upper person. The weather, though partially cleared up, was too threatening and uncertain to enable me to carry out my project of riding on horseback the distance of seventeen miles to Yeddo. By the kindness

of the British Consul I was provided with a handsome norimon with spacious floor enabling the sitter to stretch out his legs to their full length and to avoid the miserable discomfort of cramped limbs, and possessing the agreeableness and luxury of an Indian palanquin. My pony duly saddled was led by a *Beto* or Japanese groom behind my norimon; while further in my rear a common kagoo of light bamboo framework and small dimensions, partially exposed to open view, contained my Chinese servant honoured for the occasion in being borne on human shoulders. A finely-decorated lacquered box or trunk gilded with the armorial bearings of its owner was also lent me for the journey, and was borne as a luggage-pannier on a solid pole carried in turn by the coolies in my retinue. A Japanese officer girded with his pair of swords commanded the whole company, and two one-sworded attendants also joined the escort. A Dutch gentleman attached as interpreter to the British Consulate, with a six-barreled revolver and sword conspicuous at his belt, attended me also as an additional guide and guard on horseback for the first half of my journey. Luggage-carriers, palanquin-bearers and guards, we formed in all a procession of sixteen Japanese, two Europeans and one Chinese, as at a slow easy swinging trot we passed through the streets of Kanagawa and emerged from the crowd of native sight-gazers into the less frequented parts of the high road. We were on the Tokaido, the great imperial highway and thoroughfare to the capital. After passing a battery with eight guns and said to contain in

the neighbouring barrack 200 soldiers, we came upon the open bay for some time, the shore being visible at no remote distance on our right. On our left a little rising ground skirted the road, crowned with green coppices and gradually retreating further inland. Further on, the land projected eastward into the bay, and our direct route lay through level fields on either side. The usual crops of wheat, barley, beans, peas and small quantities of still ungathered rape-seed, prevailed over a country which seemed to be well cultivated but presented no features of great interest. Villages succeeded each other for the next few miles, and all the busy scenes of simple rustic life reappeared. The ridges of houses were often covered with parterres of flowers, and the various species of our greenhouse plants yielded their cheap and inartificial luxury of fragrant beauty in the open air. Peonies, azaleas, rhododendrons, camellias and a large kind of poppy were here, as elsewhere in Japan, the common, indigenous and untended growth of every cottage garden. Women were to be seen at their spinning-wheels and handlooms, plying their daily toil for subsistence. Retail shops of dirty mean exterior were everywhere the scene of a petty huckster trade. The roads were ankle-deep with mud, the wayfarers were bespattered with dirt, and everything during the first few miles looked miserable and overcast. Thick oil-paper mackintoshes were everywhere in request, and umbrellas of the same universal material met with a ready sale and use. Paper windows and coverings for kagoos, and wrappers for each article of transport, were the

order of the day. Straw horseshoes and men's sandals were bought, worn out, cast away, and provided afresh at every recurring three or four miles of rain and mire. At last the clouds began to clear away and the heavens to brighten above, producing also a contagious effect on our bearers, who, never very depressed in animal spirits, now gave way to the buoyancy of their light-hearted humour. They formed a group of merrily laughing runners,—and, after the first mile of perspiring labour, of generally raimentless, naked, tattooed bodies, with brawny limbs and big chests covered with large deeply-ingrained pictures of blue, dark and red pigment representing dragons, fishes and other symbolical figures. They were men of moderate stature, but with well-developed strength of muscle, cheering each other onward with their standard jests and unrestrained laughter,—simple, artless children of Nature, on whom no cares of state weighed heavily, and with whom a full meal, a cup of sakee, and a bed of straw form the acme of animal enjoyment and bliss. No small contrast to our chattering, laughing bearers was our mounted Yakoneen of the two swords, sitting erect and stately in his saddle, with a countenance immovable by a smile and knit with all the conscious dignity of petty office. The unfavourable weather sadly damped and discomposed his mien and aspect, giving him the appearance of a man just rescued from drowning, as in his brightly resplendent lacquered hat, his fine-wrought netted straw overcoat, and the two gay long tassels dependent from the stirrup and almost

trailing along the ground, he trotted onward by my side, and was supposed to guard me from the Prince of Mito and his men.

The houses on our way were all of cheap and simple contrivance, mere frameworks of wood, four-post bedsteads on a large scale with low legs and a matted floor in the place of the mattress, joistless structures unfastened with clamps and ligatures at the angles, and easily adapting themselves to the rocking motion of an earthquake, divisible by sliding partitions into separate rooms or capable of being thrown open to form one large common area. A strict economy of soil was observable in the care with which the hedges were pruned, and every superfluous bough lopped away from their narrow and yet effective fences. Occasionally a pretty little avenue of trees and the usual red-coloured cross-beamed archway indicated the approach to some shrine or popular idol. Some of these lesser temples contained public notifications of individual donors of money to the priests, with their names duly placarded for the information of wayfarers. Agricultural labourers were seen with their knees half buried in the muddy soil, plying their rakes and hoes. Large quantities of putrefying sea-weed, preserved in heaps as manure by the roadside, filled the air with their rank stench. Brahminee kites careering in their circling screaming flight, crows busily employed in following the footsteps of the husbandman along the furrows, and tall stately storks and herons pacing fearlessly in close vicinity to human travellers and enjoying a prescrip-

tive security in the superstitious veneration of the people, were among the common objects dotted over the fields. A chorus of noisy frogs beginning their summer croakings, gave forth their loud echoes resembling the quacking of a flock of ducks. The simple apparatus of wooden poles laden with stone served as well-sweeps at the brink of every fountain or pool of water. Cotton-hulling machines were heard with their stamping motion and descending weight; and every implement of housewifery or agricultural labour retained its primitive form and simple structure.

A journey of eight British miles brought us to the only considerable town on our route named *Kawasati*, containing houses and shops of a better kind and presenting the appearance of busy traffic. The articles of native use displayed for sale, and the public refectories with their touters vociferating clamorously for passing guests to enter, showed the presence of a more affluent class of people. At this halfway point of our journey, the river Loco had to be passed, being the furthest boundary towards the north beyond which the foreign residents from Kanagawa and Yokuhama are prohibited from straying. We were conducted into a courtyard in a large building, where some native officials quickly joined us, and after inspecting my passport proceeded to superintend the arrangements for crossing over the ferry. My European companion and guide left me at this point, and I proceeded the rest of the way under exclusively Japanese escort. We passed into the boats without the necessity of my

leaving the norimon, and on the opposite bank were soon marshaled and again proceeding on our journey to Yeddo. The half-hour's detention brought a crowd of juvenile mendicants around me, asking for a copper *ten-po* and importunately seeking a gratuity. One boy had a little wooden board suspended before his bosom, which purported in Chinese characters to be an imperial licence permitting him to pursue the calling of a professional beggar as a member of a neighbouring temple called by the name of *tae-shin-quan*, "the hall of the great god or goddess." Some few adult mendicants were occasionally seen on the side of the road; and one old man occupied a wooden hut movable on wheels, in which he daily transferred himself to the most likely spots for obtaining the alms of the charitable. One of the people in these parts I remarked as wearing a cross as a prominent part of his armorial bearings worked into his garment; and a similar emblem seen sometimes on the shop signs, would leave the impression that this sacred symbol of our religion is not in the present day necessarily associated with the remembrance of former persecutions of Christians and compulsory trampling upon the cross. The armorial bearings of the Prince of Satsuma are a cross within a circle.

We had not proceeded more than a couple of miles beyond the river Loco before my Japanese fellow-travellers and porters begged for permission to stop at a resting-place; and I was soon after carried into a little court and garden abutting on the highway,

and containing a refectory or house of public entertainment. While my native attendants were resting and refreshing themselves with a meal of rice and potations of sakee in a neighbouring outbuilding, I was escorted by the Japanese proprietor into a suite of elegant saloons, opening one beyond another and capable of being separated into private rooms by closing the folding screens and sliding panels, which extended down the length of the building and were easily moved in their grooved lines across the several apartments. The walls were covered with neat white-flowered silken-grained paper, with native paintings and little ornaments tastefully arranged in each angle; and the floor was covered with the usual clean matting padded and fitted into square or oblong compartments. A chair was brought for me to sit in European style; and the Japanese landlady, a middle-aged black-toothed personage of comely looks and polite manners, made her appearance. Her husband soon rejoined our party; and both combined their endeavours to ascertain our wants and meet our requirements. She was soon followed by three young waiting-damsels wearing their natural sets of glittering white teeth, with their native ruddy complexion enhanced by a little artificial addition of pearl-dust and rouge and their lips stained with a dark purple crimson. These young waiting-girls are always selected as the most beautiful and prepossessing of their sex, and demeaned themselves with simple artless modesty. In all parts these public hotels are served by the most handsome girls; and I was in-

formed that they are a well-conducted class, and that Japanese law rigidly protects them while filling such a capacity in these houses of refreshment. On this occasion the landlady and her native damsels overburdened me with their attentions, placing my chair in the most convenient spot, rearranging my travelling coverlets, wiping my shoes, placing a cushion on my seat, and anticipating every want. Cakes, soup, rice and sweetmeats were brought in succession. One laughing bright-eyed damsel approached me kneeling with a cup of tea in her hand; another held some sugar, kneeling on the opposite side; while a third from her lowly posture on the ground held to my lips a boiled egg, already broken and peeled, with the spoon containing the inviting morsel duly seasoned with salt. With garrulous vivacity they anticipated every look, and when my wants were supplied they remained kneeling close to my side, and vying in their endeavours to be the first to bring me their native dainties. They afterwards examined my dress; and every portion of my equipment formed the subject of exciting comment and humorous wonder. European shoes, stockings, woollen cloth, and umbrella were eagerly examined, and afforded matter for renewed curiosity and mirth. Even my Chinese servant received his share of observation, and submitted patiently to have his long plaited queue handled and examined by their fair hands. Our Japanese official conductor also relaxed somewhat of his grave aspect, and commenced to hold a written conversation with the Chinaman. Though ignorant of each other's

spoken language, they contrived by means of the Chinese written character to make themselves mutually understood. "How long have you been in the English service?" was the first of the series of questionings which doubtless were duly recorded for the subsequent information of his superiors. "Six years." "How old is the English gentleman?" "Forty-five years" was the next answer jotted down in his memorandum for the enlightenment of the superintendents of foreign affairs at Yeddo. A long string of queries and replies was abruptly terminated at last by my Chinaman's reply to the inquiry of my name. It was repeated by the others from mouth to mouth with strange variations of pronunciation and adaptations of native sounds; and then a loud succession of laughter and confession of hopelessness in understanding and mastering so outlandish a sound, gave us a momentary respite and an opportunity of breaking up the examination. A long series of kneelings, bowings and creepings along the floor marked the time of my exit to the palanquin. They rose from the ground, and with low half-doubled gait and genuflexions bore me company into the court. Here they placed cushions within the vehicle, and carefully wrapped cloaks, shawls and coverlets around my legs and feet. The gift of a silver itzebu was a rare exhibition of generous liberality in native estimate. They followed me into the street, bowing their farewell greetings and thanks; and we were soon again pursuing our way to the capital.

Signs of increasing bustle and scenes of busy ani-

mation became more frequent as we approached the outskirts of Yeddo. We again passed along the edge of the bay which here narrows itself towards its northern extremity, and shelters in its waters a considerable number of trading junks with their high sharp prows and perpendicular slips of canvas and mat sails. One moderate-sized square-rigged vessel lay at anchor near the city, bearing the usual appearance of a European ship and now employed as a floating naval store. A similar foreign-rigged vessel is also lying in the harbour off Kanagawa, reported to be a present to the emperor from the Prince of Satsuma. The number of native craft was not remarkably great ; and the general impression of the view upon the harbour fell considerably below my expectations. Five island batteries ran across the anchorage at a couple of miles' distance from the city, and formed the chief protection to the capital from the dreaded raids of foreign fleets and armaments. A higher class of houses now prevailed and signs of greater wealth appeared; but there was a remarkable absence of outward indications preparing a foreign visitor for his approach to one of the most populous cities on our globe, and a human hive of two millions of souls. The suburbs of Omagawa and Sinagawa gave the first notice of our proximity to Yeddo. Spacious enclosures on a little undulating elevation of ground on our left well guarded with palisades, planted with large species of timber, and apparently containing the residence of some official magnates, succeeded each other for some time. Long batteries began also to flank

the shore, with military barracks attached. Temples of large size and fine exterior were now more frequent objects on our route. The shops also seemed to be of a higher class, supplying the luxurious tastes of the wealthy, as well as the common wants of the lower class of people. Flower-shops, nursery-grounds, curiosity-shops, vendors of shell ornaments, picture-dealers, and large numbers of portable fire-engines and supplies of water-jars, were observable in every direction, and indicated the fact that we were in a more wealthy neighbourhood. Soon after we passed a temple of large structure and on a grand scale, where a colossal image of Budha was seated on the sacred lotus-flower constructed of massive granite and forming a conspicuous way-mark on our left. At last to my great relief after a journey of six hours my bearers turned suddenly to the left and entered a fine avenue of lofty trees conducting us through a series of large open courts to the range of temple buildings, which forms at the present time the British Legation at Yeddo. Passing beneath a large pile of gateways and galleries forming a kind of triumphal arch, and borne onward between picturesque wooded spots covered with decorated tombstones and sepulchral monuments long used as the cemetery of some of the great Daimios of the empire, I found my palanquin at last set down at the entrance of one of the lesser temples which has been converted into the residence of Mr. Rutherford Alcock, the British Envoy Extraordinary to the Imperial Government of Japan. Under his hospitable roof I had been invited to take up my temporary

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APPROACH TO THE BRITISH LEGATION AT YEDDO

abode, and had the privilege of experiencing again the same kind and friendly attentions which I received at the time of my first making his acquaintance at an earlier period of his official career, when he filled the post of British Consul in the Chinese city of Foochow, in December 1845. Here in the south-western part of the city or suburbs (for no regular circuit of fortified walls exists to separate the two portions, and relative nearness or remoteness must alone be supposed to draw the imaginary line) my friend and host had been residing for some months with a little staff of *attachés* and assistants, isolated from European society and involved in the constant disagreeableness of unsettled relations towards the native government, frequent rumours of personal peril, and the consciousness of being left without the demonstrations of support from his own government in the presence of a British man-of-war. I content myself with this brief allusion to the circumstances and present position of one who has filled a succession of important public trusts in the East with honourable credit to himself and advantage to the government which he has long served.

The temple in which I was quartered as a guest is one of a series of Budhist temples belonging to an extensive monastery, and is the finest location conceded by the Japanese Government to a foreign official. Considerable firmness was needed in order to secure this eligible spot and to obtain a position suitable for the representative of the British nation at this haughty and exclusive Asiatic court. A pleasant grove of trees and a fish-pond well stocked with

golden carp, gave a rural appearance to the garden which surrounded one end of the residence. The bare dreary spacious areas of the building had been converted into a moderately comfortable and agreeable dwelling under the presiding taste of its occupier and the skilful workmanship of native artisans. A succession of foreign visitors on the occasion of the Queen's birthday had recently enlivened the Legation. Some of the English guests left on the afternoon of my arrival. Their presence had been bruited abroad among the curiosity-dealers of the neighbourhood; and the vestibule at the entrance was every morning the resort of buyers and sellers of lacquered, porcelain and bronze wares, and the scene of excited bargainings. Elaborately carved pieces of ivory-work representing groups of restive animals or fantastic contortions of the human form,—lacquered cabinets of exquisite finish and deeply overlaid with thick coats of heavy gilded ornament,—little boxes for the pocket, holding homœopathic doses of medicine, opening segment after segment, and connected with each other by nicely-fitted and scarcely distinguishable lines of joining, — despatch-boxes, writing-desks, ladies' workboxes and glove-cases, covered with inlaid woods of variegated and rarest grain and forming a rich pattern of tesselated workmanship,—delicately worked embroidery and gorgeously wrought specimens of brocaded silks and crapes,—china vases, jars and tea-cups,—brass, copper and bronze castings, hard enamel and tortoise-shell ornaments,—were daily brought from the stores for sale, and furnished visible proofs

of the wonderful excellence to which Japanese artificers have attained in the more expensive articles of luxury and the superior kinds of native *vertu*.

The subordinate officers of the Legation are lodged in the same house with their chief, or in little out-temples comprised within the same monastic establishment. Yakoneens and guards were stationed at the main entrance from the high road and at different points in the gardens at the rear, on the double pretence of giving honour to the envoy and forming a protection against emissaries of the disaffected party in the state. The grounds of the Legation were enclosed with a recently erected palisade of closely compacted railing forming a strong fence about nine feet in height, and supported by little buttresses of pine-wood at intervals, in order to secure privacy and exclude attacks from nocturnal assassins. Such at least were the professed motives of the native authorities and the statements of the Yakoneens themselves, who led an idle lazy life in their wooden huts, sleeping a great portion of their time, or reading tales and novels. One of them I observed reading one of the Confucian "Four Books" and a work on "Filial Piety" in Chinese. Though not generally much on the alert against assassins, they possessed in variety and abundance the implements of capturing any intruders. Long poles with metal points and hooks at the end for seizing the plaited hair, or whirling round the cotton garment of the fugitives from their arrest; and strong cords to bind their hands and pinion their arms,—were at all times

in readiness suspended in their sentry-boxes and available for instant use. At the present time these Yakoneens showed no indications of regarding themselves as a guard of honour, so much as a body of spies and keepers, withholding from the British envoy whose retinue they professed to supplement and adorn, all marks of attention and the usual signs of a salute. The native authorities had been requested to withdraw this semblance of honourable attendance, but had deprecated in their reply any relaxation of precautions against assassins. The matter was for the present in abeyance, and the Yakoneens were tolerated in the rides and excursions of the British officials on the understanding that they were to be immediately withdrawn on the intimation that their presence and safe conduct were no longer required, nor deemed welcome.

At 4 A.M. on the morning following my first night of sleeping in the Legation, I was suddenly awoke by a loud rattling noise at my door, and a forcible lifting up of my bed and its heavy descent with a violent jerk to the ground. I shouted again and again to no purpose warning the supposed intruder from my room and making it perceptible that I was on the alert. A continued shaking of the bed and a rumbling noise throughout the building, at first suggested the suspicion that our native guards were right, and that I had to prepare myself for the irruption of some invader. The foe however came from a quarter which I little suspected. An English voice in a distant apartment exclaimed "An earthquake!" The signs

of panic among the native populace were soon audible. The priests rushed to the temples and commenced reciting their Budhist chaunts. The monks began their ringing of bells and beating of drums and gongs at the neighbouring shrines. The Japanese domestics fled into the open air, and for the moment all was confusion and dismay. One smart vertical shock (stated by the Japanese to be much more dangerous than a horizontal shock or lateral motion) was felt, and then nothing further followed beyond a rattling of walls and subterraneous rumblings. No more serious consequence ensued, and the natives recovered in an hour or two their wonted quietude. One of their most marked causes of surprise at the conduct and character of foreigners is connected with our calm composure at the occurrence of an earthquake; and they seem to attribute it less to our fortitude of mind in time of danger than to a brutish, senseless ignorance of these phenomena inherent in our nature. The recurrence of earthquakes at Yeddo not unreasonably excites the alarm of the multitude. In the year 1854-5 this disastrous visitation laid a considerable portion of the city in ruins. The "temple of the five hundred genii" was destroyed. About 200,000 were estimated to have been victims to the falling buildings and the consequent conflagrations which spread over the frail, flimsy and combustible materials of a crowded eastern city. An earthquake is one of the direst calamities to the people of Japan.

CHAP. XX.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.—SPIRITUAL AND SECULAR EMPERORS.— TYCO-SAMA. — THE MIKADO A POLITICAL NONENTITY. —ABSORPTION OF POWER INTO THE TYCOON. — THE INCREASED POWER OF THE GREAT COUNCIL OF STATE. — A PLURALITY OF MAYORS OF THE PALACE. — THE GREAT DAIMIOS OF THE EMPIRE. — THE "GO-SAN-KAY." — THE "GO-SAN-KIO."— RECENT FEUDS. — DUALISM AND SYSTEM OF MUTUAL CONTROL.

A DIGRESSION in my narrative will at this point be necessary in order to prepare the reader for a right understanding of the present state of political parties in Japan and some of the events which have lately occurred at Yeddo.

The kingdom of Japan has at different periods of its history undergone important revolutions in the form of government of its scattered group of island territories and the mutual relations of the more prominent official dignities comprised in its internal organisation. It contained originally sixty-six separate provinces or minor kingdoms, of which the three most considerable southern islands of Niphon, Sikok and Kewsew furnished fifty-three, four and nine respectively ; and these were gradually subdivided into about six hundred lesser principalities or districts, each with its local rulers and nominally independent chiefs.

At an early period of Japanese history they seem to have had but little cohesion or subordination to the common control of a central power. Six hundred years before the Christian era by the administrative tact and wisdom of the most powerful of the chieftains, the whole of these petty principalities were incorporated into one consolidated empire under one imperial ruler uniting in his own person the prestige of supposed descent from the sacred lineage of their national divinity and of pre-eminence in power from the vastness of his territorial possessions. In subsequent times the empire was distracted by civil wars and conspiracies among the princes. The Emperor of Japan, sometimes designated by the personal title of *Mikado* and at other times known better among European readers as the *Dairi* (the *Court* of the Emperor) devolved the military administration of affairs upon a subordinate officer, who thenceforward as hereditary "generalissimo," "commander-in-chief," or "lord-lieutenant" of the empire, occupied a powerful and almost independent executive authority in dangerous proximity to the throne. Yoritomo in the year A.D. 1185 was the first to assume this office under the title of *Kubo-sama* ("Lord-general"),—*Siogoon* (derived from "tseang-keuen" the Chinese term for a Tartar "commander-in-chief"),— or, as he is better known in the wording of recent treaties, the *Tycoon* (the Chinese "ta-keuen" the equivalent of "great prince"). The authority of the Mikado, which sustained a severe shock in the appointment of Yoritomo, was still further reduced

under some of the successors of the latter, in whose family the hereditary dignity of "generalissimo of the empire" became an established right, and who gradually monopolised all the functions of administrative government in the state. About the year A.D. 1585 *Tyco-sama*, who had raised himself from an obscure position to the rank of "generalissimo" by his ability and prowess, turned his arms against the sovereign to whom he owed his elevation, reduced the territorial princes under his authority, repressed with rigorous severity every symptom of insubordination among their number, deprived the Mikado of the relics of power which he had hitherto retained in the temporal affairs of secular government, and inaugurated that more fully developed system of double dignity and divided empire which is known under the designations of the "spiritual" and the "secular" emperors of Japan. It was he also who further endeavoured to consolidate the power of his dynasty by the extermination of the Christian religion from Japan.

The Siogoon or "secular emperor" from that time has virtually become the sovereign ruler of Japan. The Mikado or "spiritual emperor" has continued to be nominally invested with the supreme dignity; but only a shadow of his former power remains. The designations of "spiritual" and "secular" emperor have been retained in this narrative partly out of compliance with the established phraseology of former usage, and not as conveying a definite and accurate idea in themselves of the real nature of this partition

of dignity and power. The Mikado retains the empty title of sovereign and his assent is still deemed requisite to give validity to imperial acts of national importance. He is relegated to dwell in idle pomp at the sacred capital, Miako; where he is viewed as a semi-divine personage, and treated with marks of superhuman honour and reverence. Native writers have recorded and Dutch narrators have copied their statements respecting the ceremonial etiquette which still attends his movements. Descended from the "sun-goddess" he is the reputed incarnation of the tutelary divinity of the empire. He was supposed to live in sacred retirement within the precincts of his palace garden in the midst of his twelve wives, as too elevated a being to breathe the common air or to tread on profane ground, never wearing twice the same garments nor eating a second time from the same dishes. He was the fountain of honour, the bestower of rank, the dispenser of ecclesiastical patronage in the promotion of his dependents to the richest monasteries of the empire, the regulator of ceremonies, the authoriser of the national almanac, the source of graduate diplomas to physicians and priests, and the sole distributor of armorial bearings and heraldic devices. Within the circle of this routine of trifles the Mikado was circumscribed. The Siogoon professed to bow in submissive veneration to this honourable puppet by annual or (as it is now relaxed to a less frequent recurrence) septennial visits of ceremony and respect. He was even reputed to sustain in honorary rank an inferior position to the prime minister of the Mikado,

and to be fifth only in precedence among the grandees of the court. A special envoy, ambassador or agent of the Siogoon resided in the spiritual capital ostensibly to fulfil in his stead the duty of paying semi-divine honours to the Mikado, but in reality to fill the post of a spy on his movements, to report observations on his daily life, and to watch the earliest symptoms of disaffection and secret plottings on the part of hostile princes. The spiritual emperor, convinced of the hopelessness of resistance and apparently satisfied with this honourable semblance of sovereignty, has at length through successive generations of Mikados succumbed to the necessities of his position, and seldom or never withholds his sanction from the imperial acts of the Siogoon professedly done in his name. A regard to the hereditary prestige of the Mikado and a distrust of the territorial grandees of the empire, have probably deterred the Siogoon from sweeping away this last flimsy remnant of ancient sovereign dignity, and building up on its ruins his own paramount claims to personally inherent and undivided authority as the head of the Japanese empire.

How far the original relations of these two imperial dignitaries remain unchanged, or how far the lapse of three centuries has modified the internal government of Japan, it is difficult at the present time accurately to determine or confidently to assert. There are however present indications which show that the Siogoon himself has in turn been stripped of a considerable portion of his sovereign power, and

that the original "Mayor of the Palace" has gradually been supplanted and succumbed to the authority of some eight or ten "Mayors of the Palace" in the form of an administrative council arrogating to itself the supreme functions of government. The administration of affairs now practically rests with a small oligarchy from among the *Daimios* or territorial lords and princes, amounting in all to two hundred and sixty-four, and enjoying each, in a greater or less degree, the power of petty sovereign princes within their own districts. Eighteen of the more powerful of these grandees are virtually independent within their own dominions, and their united influence can at any time govern the policy of the Siogoon. In short, the present government of Japan is a national confederation of vassal princes, with the supreme administrative power nominally vested in the Siogoon but really arrogated by the great Council of State composed of five members and assisted by a subordinate council of varying number. The two councils form the Imperial Cabinet at Yeddo and the real Executive Government at the present time. It was their known repugnance and the opposition of the conservative party of Daimios in the empire, which formed the real difficulty in the negotiation of the British and American treaties. It is not quite clear whether the members of the Imperial Cabinet are nominated by the Siogoon, or whether he is compelled to follow the ascertained wishes of the great Daimios in the appointment of individual princes. The Siogoon who negotiated the Ameri-

can treaty, had the reputation of holding liberal views respecting foreign nations against the prevailing opinions of some members of the council. He soon after disappeared from the political scene; and his sudden removal was a matter of suspicion to some of the foreign officials who watched the course of Japanese politics. The defeated party among the opposing Daimios vainly endeavoured to prevent the conclusion of a treaty with foreign powers by reviving the old prerogative of the spiritual emperor, and by endeavouring to procure a veto upon the acts of the secular emperor and his council from the sacred city of Miako. Though their intrigue was ineffectual, the attempt proves that the assent of the Mikado is recognised in theory, and his veto may at any moment be employed for negativing the acts of a weak and unpopular Siogoon.

Both the princes and the people are accustomed to maintain in the presence of foreigners that the Tycoon or Siogoon is *not* the emperor of Japan, and assert that the consent of the Mikado or Dairi is a real element in their political constitution. The probable hypothesis is that in the present divided and balanced state of internal administration, the great council of Daimios who have arrogated the chief power to themselves, are accustomed to play a wily game in politics, and to set off the Mikado against the Siogoon as a scheme for their own aggrandisement. They assert that even in Yeddo their presence is that of honourable guests dwelling in the capital and not that of compulsory hostages held in safe custody as

a guarantee for their loyal fidelity to the existing government.

The higher Council of Five is entitled the *Go lo sew*, "imperial old men" or "imperial senators." The lower council now consisting of six or seven members is called *Waka-tosiyori*, "young old men" or "junior senators." They represent the prevailing party of Daimios in the state, who appear to have no stated times or forms of deliberative assembly. The theory of the nation is that the laws of Japan are so excellent and perfect, that they need no alteration or reform. Any important measure or change of foreign policy is referred to their united voice of approval or disapproval by the ordinary channels of communication, and a confidential emissary brings back the assenting or dissenting votes of the absent grandees to the capital.

The office of Siogoon is hereditary in the line of male descent; but a vacancy in the case of failure of male issue is filled up by the united votes of the great Daimios throughout the empire. Their choice is limited to the members of three families who were originally allied by near relationship to the Siogoon. The election is sometimes an occasion of party-strife, and its recent occurrence on the death of the last Siogoon who left no son, led to a violent outbreak of discord at the capital.

The founder of the actual dynasty had three brothers. Their descendants are the chiefs of three distinct branches of the royal family now called the three imperial brothers (*Go san kay*). They are

represented at the present time by the Prince of Owari, to whose branch of the royal family the late Siogoon belonged; the Prince of Mito; and the Prince of Kii. Not content with this limitation of the imperial power to the descendants of the three titular "brothers of the emperor," the third Siogoon of the present dynasty gave his own three brothers a similar title of *Go san kio*, bequeathing to them a reversionary interest in the succession in case of failure of direct heirs from the whole of the three privileged families of the *Go san kay*. The third branch of the more recent trio of houses the *Go san kio* is now extinct; but such is the anxiety to secure even a reversion under the remotest contingencies of the royal succession, that the reigning Tycoon who may first have two sons is to designate the younger as a successor to the vacancy in the *Go san kio*. The consent of the spiritual emperor is requisite to give validity to the election of a new Siogoon.

It was the choice of a successor to the deceased Siogoon in 1858 which gave birth to civil commotions among the Daimios, and drove into opposition the party among their number who are accused of fomenting dislike of foreigners and the recent assassinations of Europeans. The Prince of Mito was the chief of one of the three branches of the royal family of titular "imperial brothers;" and exerted himself to procure his own election by the votes of the Daimios. Personal unpopularity or distrust of his political leanings, which are said to be on the liberal side of foreign policy, led the Daimios to reject his

claims to the imperial dignity and to prefer in his stead the member of another branch of the royal race. The Prince of Mito himself was in compulsory retirement and disgrace, and had abdicated his principality in favour of his son, whose election he yet hoped to procure by intrigue. The son of *Dai kai na ngon*, Prince of Kii, was however elected to the vacant honour; and as he was yet a minor, one of the great Council of the State was appointed *Goteiro* or regent of the empire. A few weeks before my arrival at Yeddo, this great functionary was assassinated in open day by the retainers of the disgraced Prince of Mito, who had retired to a fortified castle seventy miles from Yeddo, where he defied the power of the Siogoon and council, and had openly unfurled the standard of civil war. One ambassador from the council had been delegated to bear to the rebellious prince terms of reconciliation, but the emissary was put to death.

Another envoy, a member of the council itself, was nominated to renew the perilous mission, but the favoured object of selection, remembering his predecessor's fate, was reported to hesitate respecting his task as mediator.

The young Siogoon, being now eighteen years of age, is to be declared as having attained his majority, and no new regent has been appointed in the place of the murdered Goteiro. Such is a brief outline of the internal complications of parties at the present time, presenting on the surface much that is obscure and almost unintelligible to foreigners, and revealing a

sanguinary picture of intestine feuds. One fact however is clear and apparent, — that the negotiation of the American treaty of 1858 was fatal to the party in power, and that Lord Elgin's arrival was cotemporaneous with a vacancy in the imperial throne and the recent accession of a reactionary administration to the post of government.

The great engine of the central administrative power at Yeddo is that long-established policy by which a system of dualism has been established in every official grade. The territorial princes are compelled to reside half their time in the immediate vicinity of the Imperial Court in Yeddo. Every prince has a secretary or official spy delegated from the court, and he again is controlled by a second colleague and spy. Half the year is spent by the princes in their native territories, and during the other half they reside at Yeddo in the bosom of their families, who are never permitted to leave the capital, and are always present as sureties and hostages for the continued loyalty of the princes. Some of the Daimios whose dominions are situated at the extremity of the empire, reside a whole year at the capital, and spend the same period of time in their principalities, in order to save the expense and toil of a lengthened journey. Attended by vast bodies of retainers and dependents, the grandees of the empire are thus continually making their stately progresses to Yeddo, and consume no small proportion of their revenue in the magnificent display customary on their visits to the capital. Every act, every word,

every petty detail of daily life is duly recorded by official spies, who correspond direct with the Executive Council and divulge the first symptoms of sedition and intrigue in the provinces. Ruthless severity and a sanguinary code of retribution impend over an offending individual; and a machinery of detective espionage, pursuing its intricate movements of wheel within wheel, has for three hundred years kept the government in undisturbed action. Terror and mutual distrust are the natural fruits of the system.

As a general summary, it will be apparent that while in China the theory of government is a *bureaucracy*,— a form of administration carried on under an autocratic emperor, served by an aristocracy of literati raised from the democracy by literary trial and competitive examinations conducted without preference of birth and in the total absence of hereditary caste, — Japan, on the contrary, is ruled by an aristocracy of two hundred and sixty-four hereditary Daimios or territorial lords of the soil, with a close oligarchy of inner councillors at their head controlling the secular emperor, having their title to power grounded on the privileges of hereditary descent and caste, with all the wealth and prestige of the empire concentrated upon the capital, as the metropolis and seat of power. A middle class is unrecognisable in such a system of society and government.

CHAP. XXI.

RIDES THROUGH THE CITY OF YEDDO.

EXCURSION INTO THE CITY.—"OFFICIAL QUARTER."—CITADEL MOAT.—SCENE OF THE GOTEIRO'S ASSASSINATION.—DETAILS OF PLOT.—TYCOON'S PALACE-ENCLOSURE.—GROVES OF CYPRESS AND RURAL LANDSCAPE.—"BELLE VUE."—PALACES OF DAIMIOS.—"TO-JIN."—DOGS.—EXCURSION INTO THE "COMMERCIAL QUARTER."—"NIPON-BAS."—SCENES IN STREETS.—"A-TANG-YAMA."—"GRANDE VUE."—PANORAMA OF YEDDO.—ESTIMATED POPULATION.—MONASTERIES.—BEGGARS.—PILGRIMS.

In the latter part of the day after my arrival at Yeddo, I took a ride on horseback of ten miles through the city in company with Mr. Alcock. We passed over two or three miles of suburbs and occasionally intervening spots of richly cultivated gardens enclosed within luxuriant hedges and having the appearance of rustic lanes in close proximity to one of the most populous cities of the world. Arriving at length among the more frequented streets, we skirted for some distance on our right the royal cemetery of the Tycoon, which extended over a considerable space and looked like a large and beautifully wooded pleasure-ground. Beyond this point we proceeded towards the "official quarter" of the city; and, crossing by a bridge over the moat, entered the third or outer

enclosure, in which are situated the palaces of the great Daimios of Japan. The moat at this point is about fifty yards in breadth, and has a fine clear expanse of water fed by running streams and preserved from stagnation, covered during the winter season with countless myriads of wild fowl, which it is death for a Japanese to destroy, and which are likely to prove a strong temptation to the guns of foreign sportsmen. We rode onward over broad spacious areas occupied on either side with extensive domains and buildings containing within their limits the ordinary population of a moderate-sized European town, in the numerous retainers and dependents lodged in the interior. The roads are in some places sixty yards in width, macadamised, lined with well-constructed drains and kept in perfect order. Occasionally we passed the *cortège* of some official of moderate rank borne in his norimon and attended by a long train of javelin-bearers, carriers of large folded umbrellas encased in glazed oilskin covers, luggage trunks, led horses and minor accompanying norimons. Sometimes a file of officers with stiff gauze jackets projecting over the shoulder followed some higher functionary mounted on a strangely caparisoned steed.

We soon approached the bridge which leads over the moat into the second fortified enclosure and the extensive grounds and palace of the Tycoon. Here at the foot of the wooden bridge leading to the entrance of the long line of walled ramparts which form the citadel and enclose the imperial palace, occurred the tragedy of the Goteiro's

violent end, which a few weeks before my arrival had convulsed native society and spread a sense of uneasiness and insecurity among foreigners. On the preceding 24th day of March the unfortunate Prince Iïkamong was proceeding in his norimon at the early hour of 10 A.M. and amid a heavy fall of rain from his palace lying within sight and at the distance of three or four hundred yards, attended by only an ordinary number of guards, to pay a visit to the young Tycoon his ward. He had arrived at the foot of the bridge and was within a short distance of his destination when twenty armed assassins, the reputed emissaries of the Prince of Mito, drew forth their concealed weapons from under the loose folds of their garments and the large encircling rain-coats, and made a desperate assault on the norimon. The guards were all after a sanguinary resistance slain or put to flight. The Goteiro was despatched and his head was borne away as a bloody trophy. As a *ruse* for evading capture, the head of the murdered functionary was wrapped in a cloth covering and carried by some of the assailants to a place of concealment, while others of the assassins displayed ostentatiously the head of one of the slain attendants and held it aloft proclaiming it to be the head of the Goteiro himself. Stung by humiliation and goaded by revenge, and possibly also incited by the hope of a large pecuniary reward, this little band of retainers vindicated the honour of their chief even with the imminent and almost certain prospect of death by torture. They effected a temporary escape and

for some time baffled detection. One by one they were captured or slain. In the preceding week two of the conspirators, apprehended in a remote province, were remanded to the capital and passed through Kanagawa on their way to Yeddo, borne in a kagoo with a strong covering of steel network enclosing them and the vehicle within its meshes and preventing the possibility of escape. Two others, killed at the moment of capture, were temporarily embalmed in a sort of briny preserve, and their corpses were forwarded in the same escort with their living accomplices. The survivors were about to be put to torture before suffering capital punishment, in order to extort a confession of the names of their fellow-conspirators. The entrance of a prince's palace standing close by the spot was on the occasion of our visit boarded up with a strong wooden palisade, and some of my foreign companions had referred the cause to the reputed disgrace of its lordly proprietor in having been guilty of negligence and permitting the neighbourhood of his own dwelling to become the scene of this sanguinary occurrence. The captain of the guard stationed at the adjoining rampart-gate, through which the assassins escaped, was visited with a severer punishment, being condemned to perform the "Harakiri" and dying by his own hand on the next day.

The "official quarter" of the city, the scene of these civil feuds and ferocious contentions among the grandees of the empire, abounds with objects of interest in the breadth and cleanliness of its roads, and the

beautiful verdant appearance of the sloping moat-banks. The encompassing waters run in three concentric circles, or, more strictly speaking, in a triple coil-like form, a distance of nine miles, surrounding in the innermost portion the strongly-fortified quarter which contains the Tycoon's palace and grounds. Throughout the greater part of its winding course the sides of the moat incline upwards by a gentle acclivity covered with a green crop of verdure and presenting the appearance of a newly-mown well-swept grassy lawn. Little groves of cedar and cypress — and, towering above all in its majestic foliage, the prevailing *Cryptomeria Japonica* — crown the summit of the rising slopes, forming a succession of rural landscapes and park-like vegetation in the heart of the city. The various gateways which connect the detached portions of wall intersecting the enclosures, are occupied as military stations and guardhouses; but there were few sentries or soldiers seen actually on duty. No batteries were visible on the walls. A quiet stillness pervaded the whole scene; and a visitor judging by external indications of peace would be but little prepared for the realities of bloodshed and conspiracies which lurk beneath this smiling surface. The walls are of solid and well-compacted masonry, formed of large polygonal-shaped blocks of stone nicely fitted along their irregular edges and entirely destitute of cement, with buttresses of the same materials projecting outwards at the bottom, and the whole structure adapted to the frequent heavings of soil consequent on the earthquakes. Even with these precautions the mas-

sive fragments of stone are in some places loosened and partially displaced from their level.

We passed over a portion of the moat-bank which was occupied by timber-yards and boats engaged in storing materials for rebuilding the royal palace of the Tycoon destroyed last year by fire. This occurrence (like most other public calamities at this crisis) is put to the account of the Prince of Mito, at whose instigation the conflagration was said to have been produced. Riding onward in the vicinity of the palace of one of the princes who enjoy the rank and privileges of titular "brothers of the Tycoon," we at length ascended a rising hill over which the road conducted us in the latter part of our circuit of the moat. When we had reached the top of the hill, we turned round to obtain a view of the city lying beneath and to enjoy the beautiful scene which extended to the distant horizon from this point of observation, and which has been deservedly named by foreign visitors the "Belle vue" of Yeddo.

It is sometimes difficult to realise in such a spot the fact of being in the heart and centre of a couple of millions of people. The whole surrounding aspect is that of a succession of Hyde Parks or Kensington Gardens, — a city of green slopes and overhanging groves, with broad spacious roads sometimes expanding to the dimensions of an open field and everywhere lined with a succession of sparsely diffused dwellings. Towards the south a fine view of the distant harbour with its fleet of native craft stretched far away to the dimly descried hills over the bay. There was little to de-

note the existence of a thickly crowded capital except the glittering white exterior of the houses and the interspersed temples with a slightly dim obscuration of the atmosphere from the smoke of the more densely packed streets of the trading quarter. I have heard the opinion expressed by a friend who has visited all the capitals in Europe but one, that in the external beauty of its well-wooded scenery and the general picturesque appearance of the surrounding view Yeddo surpasses every city of western countries. Everything appeared to be kept in good order, a strong contrast to the state of things now observable in China, where the public buildings are out of repair and gradually mouldering to decay. The proud independence of the great Daimios prevents a visitor from entering within their spacious and richly planted grounds. The more powerful among their number are said to assume a somewhat defiant attitude even towards the Siogoon himself, and to refuse admission to the agents of the supreme government for the purpose of taking a census of their retainers. In all the arrogant bearing of semi-barbarian pride and a keen sensitiveness to the most trifling semblance of humiliation or insult, these powerful barons generally keep themselves aloof from each other's society, and lead lives of idle dissipation in the midst of their armed dependents. Habits of intoxication are also reported to be very prevalent among them. Contests of precedence and mutual jealousies drive them far asunder; and these extensive enclosures within which imagination pictures the ordinary population of a small town, are probably occupied by feudal chiefs, each separated

from familiar intercourse with his class and exempt from all the humanising refinements of civilised society. A long wall of dark-coloured chunam crossed by square or diamond-shaped white trellis-work of the same material, is the only object which is visible from without. The basements alone are generally constructed of solid stone material. What we are accustomed to dignify with the name of a palace is probably a one-storied building covering a vast area and having only in a small portion of its space any upper rooms, —huge comfortless structures containing few articles of luxury or appliances of art beyond specimens of lacquered cabinets, porcelain vases, and the ordinary furniture of a Japanese dwelling. A European gentleman who has visited the interior of the Tycoon's palace, represents even the abode of imperial majesty as containing furniture of only the plainest description, and as being entirely destitute of gold, diamonds and the glittering ornaments of barbaric display. What gives to Japanese houses of the middle and upper class their characteristic attraction is the universal neatness of the interior and the air of cleanliness which generally prevails. Everything in this official quarter of the Daimios appears however to be on a large rather than a magnificent scale, — fine macadamised roads, extensive parks and groves, a grand sweeping slope of undulating lawn, a large serpentine sheet of clear water in the moats, and a long range of palace-wall enclosures, covering a vast area of space, though of moderate elevation adapted to the insecure foundation of this region of earthquakes.

In our rambles into the city the sound of *To-sze* and *To-jin* ("Chinese") often greeted our ears. The Chinese being their nearest neighbours and other nations being comparatively unknown, the term is probably used in the general sense of "foreigner." It is understood to be a low term, and its use is discouraged. The little crowds of one or two hundred who gathered near us as we paused at any interesting point of our excursion, were very orderly and practised self-control in restraining their voices and manifestations of curiosity within the bounds of the strictest propriety. In these rides two or three Betos or grooms accompanied us and kept pace with our horses, one of their number generally running a little before us in the most crowded parts of the streets and clearing the middle of the roads of any dogs lazily sleeping and basking in the sun or otherwise impeding our progress. There certainly were no evidences of any sacredness attaching to the canine species in the eyes of the Japanese. The Betos' resounding whips sent the dogs howling in all directions. Frequent cases were observable of dogs bearing the marks of severe sword-cuts inflicted by the attendants of the Daimios on the unfortunate animals obstructing them in their rides. The occasions were by no means uncommon in which dogs seemed to me to be treated with cruelty and bore deep gashes across their back and loins as from sharp blows inflicted in wantonness. Kæmpfer indeed relates in the account of his visit to Yeddo in the years 1691 and 1692 that dogs were held sacred among the

Japanese; but my own observation led me to think that popular feeling towards the species has undergone a change since that time. Titsingh mentions that Tsouna-yosi the fifth Tycoon of the present dynasty, on recovering from a severe illness, published a decree, at the instigation of a Budhist priest named Gosiou-in-no-zosio, prohibiting the slaughtering of animals throughout the empire in accordance with the idea of the meritoriousness of such actions prevalent among the disciples of Budhism. He further states that, as the year of the monarch's accession A.D. 1682 was in the cycle of Japanese constellations known by the sign of the "Dog," that animal was especially taken under imperial protection and an enclosure of ground was surrounded with palisades for the purpose of feeding a large number of sacred dogs.

It was within ten years of this date that Kæmpfer accompanied the Dutch ambassador to the capital, and the sanctity which attached to dogs was probably then in the full zenith of its superstitious power.

The diminutive Japanese lap-dogs are valued and cherished on far different grounds. They command a high price even in Japan itself, where great care is taken in preserving the purity of the breed. Like everything rare and fetching a large sum of money, they are generally said to come from Miako. They are probably the original stock of the King Charles' breed of small English spaniel; and are very delicate, sensitive to cold and liable to distemper. Full-grown specimens may sometimes be seen scarcely exceeding seven or eight inches in length, their diminutive size

being said to be preserved by cross-breeding and (according to some reports) by occasional draughts of sakee.

A day or two later I accompanied another party of gentlemen from the Legation on a ride of about a dozen miles along the *Tokaido* or imperial highway through the "commercial quarter" of the city to its north-eastern portion at the *Nipon-bas* the celebrated "Bridge of Japan," from which all the distances in the empire are computed in *ri* equal to two and a half British miles. The bridge, like most of the other bridges in Yeddo, is a wooden structure extended over piers and strengthened with massive iron clamps. The ride through these more busy and frequented streets, in which the trading community dwells, tends considerably to diminish, if not to dissipate, some of the pleasant impressions made by a visit to the "official quarter" or the "West-end" of the city of Yeddo. Two days of heavy rain and accumulated mud, the deep miry ruts ploughed by the heavy creaking wheels of buffalo-carts, and the frequent sight of waggons high-piled with baggage and lumber and drawn by a team of straining, perspiring, steaming human cattle, took away a portion of the romantic sentiment which a first view of Yeddo in its less crowded resorts is apt to produce. The shops were of the usual commonplace character and scarcely averaged the general appearance of those in a Chinese street. The redeeming point was the width of the roads and the absence of rude jostlings from passing crowds in closely-packed thoroughfares. There were the same shop-signs as elsewhere in Japan,

huge paper representations of a fish flying a flag aloft in the air denoting a fishmonger's stall, or a large exaggerated image of a pile of coins pointing out the money-changer's office. Silk-mercers' shops were also very numerous, with touting men and boys pacing before the shop open to public view, and vociferously inviting the passers-by to enter and bestow their custom. Large fire-proof treasure depots were visible, rising above the level line of roofs and rendered by thick coatings of stucco plaster impervious to the devouring flame. Lofty wooden towers or stages were placed in every ward, and patrols marched day and night in one incessant round with jingling rod of office to watch and give the first alarm of fire. Bathing-houses also prevailed with all the usual violations of Western ideas of delicacy and decorum.

On our return we passed into the official quarter, revisiting the "Belle vue," and at no great distance the scene of the Goteiro's assassination. We next proceeded to a little eminence overhanging the high road, at the foot of which we dismounted and ascended a flight of nearly a hundred steps to the top. The hill is called *A-tang-yama*—"Mount of the God Atang"—and commands an extensive view of the city and surrounding country, commonly called by foreign visitors the "Grande vue" of Yeddo. A long shed furnished with refreshment-tables afforded us an agreeable resting-place. Cups of warm water swimming with coriander-seed or containing an infusion of tea-leaves, were presented to us by young

damsels of graceful manners and prepossessing countenance. The band of conspirators who murdered the Goteiro spent the previous night on the top of this hill. On the pretence of extraordinary devotion they begged the presiding priest to permit them to abide in this sacred locality till the morrow; and sheltered beneath the priestly roof in his entire ignorance of their design, they issued forth the next morning on their desperate deed of blood.

There is no spot in Yeddo from which a better view is gained of the vast expanse of inhabited space lying in the city and suburbs below. From our feet the city stretched eastward as far as the naked unassisted eye could reach, a distance of at least ten miles. On the south the houses extended four miles to the bay. Taking in the whole panorama on every side, we may state the proximate area of the entire city to be about fifteen miles from north *to* south, and eight miles from east to west,—an estimate which gives a total of a hundred and twenty square miles of ground occupied by streets, by temples and monasteries, by the vast park-enclosures of the Daimios, and by the palace grounds of the Tycoon. It is very difficult to form a conjecture of the probable number of the inhabitants. A scientific gentleman from France, who recently explored the various localities about Yeddo, endeavoured by personal observation and a study of native maps to form an estimate of the population. Including the suburb of Sinagawa, he rated the aggregate number at two millions and a half of souls.

He assigned a quarter of a million to the trading community and mercantile quarter. Grounding his estimate on the proportion of space covered by temples, he reckoned the priesthood to amount to no less a number than another quarter of a million. Two millions of people were on this computation still left as the probable number of inhabitants who constitute the families and retainers of the Daimios and the Tycoon. The military retainers of the Tycoon are reported as amounting to 80,000 men. This number multiplied by four would give nearly one-third of a million as the probable aggregate of the families of the imperial retainers and dependents. One million and two-thirds still remain as the computed number of all the inmates of the palaces of the various territorial princes who are congregated in the capital.

We passed one remarkable temple avenue leading from the imperial high road in the neighbourhood of the "Bridge of Japan." All the fairest and most verdant spots are occupied either by monasteries or by palaces of the Daimios. The latter have in some cases no less than three or four separate domains in different parts of the city to insure the certainty of a home in the case of a wide-spread conflagration, and also (it may reasonably be presumed) to supply adequate extent of quarters for their little army of followers and dependents.

The occasional spectacle of beggars was not altogether absent from these scenes. One poor mendicant was in close vicinity to a Daimio's palace wall, sitting on a mat by the roadside with his toes eaten away

by disease, and silently holding out his hand in mute entreaty for alms. Further on, a woman and child were similarly seated on a mat awaiting the casual gift from the passers-by, but making no audible appeal for help. An old nun also claimed the alms of the benevolent, beating a small sounding-board to keep time with some religious utterance. A more characteristic scene was observable in two begging pilgrims, one bearing a little box on his bosom, the other having a deal-board tablet suspended over his breast and inscribed with a list of the sacred localities which he had visited in his pilgrimages of merit. They were religious devotees, of poor unintellectual looks, and not apparently suffering from any marked destitution.

These pilgrimages are an important feature in the Japanese character. Persons of wealth sometimes voluntarily divest themselves of the comforts belonging to their station, and set out on distant journeyings to different parts of the empire—exploring even the remotest regions of Kewsew on the west or Yesso on the north-east, begging their means of livelihood from place to place and visiting the most renowned temples of the nation. They bring back a little box filled with wooden tablets inscribed with certificates of merit and viewed as tickets of dispensation, which are supplied to them by the priests at different parts on their route. They sometimes wear them on their bosom or in the rim of their hat; and one of my foreign acquaintances states to me that he has frequently seen this class of mendicant-pilgrims wearing a *scallop-shell*, identical with those of western palmers

from the Holy Land of old, as armorial bearings on their garments or in the front of their hat. The merit of the pilgrims is considered to be threefold; the laborious fatigue of the long journey, the voluntary self-humiliation in the act of begging alms, and the gift of money to the temples or to the poor which they are accustomed to make at the close of the pilgrimage. The tablets of merit are afterwards laid up as heirlooms in the dwelling. It is an essential part of the system that a pilgrim, however wealthy, lives entirely on the proceeds of begging during his long journey.

CHAP. XXII.

FOREIGN LEGATIONS IN YEDDO.

AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL.—RECENT TREATIES. — JAPANESE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. — "GOVERNORS" OF CONSULAR PORTS. — JAPANESE EMBASSY TO UNITED STATES. — "TEMPLE-LORDS." — HIGHER CLASS OF PRIESTHOOD. — PROSPECTIVE TOLERATION OF CHRISTIANITY. — OLD PLACARDS PROHIBITING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. — A BODY OF HEREDITARY RELIGIOUS DETECTIVES. — AO-YAMA. — FRENCH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES. — ABBÉ GIRARD. — YAKONEENS.

DURING my stay at Yeddo I paid visits to their excellencies the representatives of the United States and France, who have obtained a residence in temples situated within a couple of miles of the British Legation. The Consul-General of the United States at the present time, Mr. Townsend Harris, has filled a prominent part in recent negotiations with the Japanese Government. The American treaty of Commodore Perry, signed on March 28th, 1854, was a great gain and the commencement of a new epoch in the relations of foreign nations with Japan. Mr. Harris, by a course of conciliation and in the absence of any demonstrations of a naval force, induced the native authorities to conclude on June 28th, 1857, the convention of Simoda, which was a slight advance on Commodore Perry's treaty, and

settled for a time the question of currency, permanent residence of foreigners, and the addition of Nagasaki to the ports opened to commerce beyond the cities of Simoda and Hakodadi already conceded. But it was by the treaty of Yeddo of 1858 that Mr. Harris vindicated his principal claims to success as a negotiator. Isolated for above a year and a half from intercourse with the civilised world, unvisited by an American ship of war, and scarcely able to receive any letters or despatches from home, he remained at his post and obtained considerable influence with the native government. He travelled from Simoda to Yeddo in all the state of a Daimio, and was courteously received and lodged in a building specially prepared and supplied with European furniture within the official quarter of the city. This treaty procured a considerable extension of privileges, and was the basis of the treaties subsequently concluded by other foreign powers. The course of the negotiations proved however somewhat tardy, and was doubtless in some of the final stages expedited by the Chinese peace of Teen-tsin. Mr. Harris's first audience with the Tycoon took place as early as December 7th, 1857. The rough draft of the terms of the American treaty was accepted on February 27th, and received the signatures of both the contracting parties on March 4th, 1858. The dates at which the new ports were to be opened and the ratifications of the treaty were to be exchanged were left blank. But at this point a long interval occurred during which the consent of the Mikado and the general

body of Daimios was to be obtained. The conservative reactionary party tried every resource of manœuvre and intrigue at Miako to prevent the final assent to the treaty. There are reasonable grounds for believing that it was at length the reverberating echo of British guns at the Peiho in June, 1858, causing the opposing party of Daimios to quail before the dreaded approach of a British squadron, which precipitated the formal, complete and final settlement of the American treaty.

The date of the final signature of Mr. Harris's treaty, with the dates inserted and a formal interchange of copies, was July 29th, 1858. The other European treaties at Yeddo quickly followed. The Russian treaty was signed on August 19th; the British treaty of Lord Elgin on August 26th; the French treaty of Baron Gros some time in October; and the Dutch treaty of Mr. Donker Curtius on October 4th of the same year. The more important variations between the American and British treaties consist in the substitution in the latter of July 1st instead of July 4th, 1859 (the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence) as the date of ratification and opening of the ports*; in the reduction of woollen and cotton imported goods from a tariff of 20 per cent. to 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty; and in the reasonable extension of the power of revising the treaty

* They afterwards begged an extension of the date of ratification at Washington from July 4th, 1859. It was finally arranged that the Japanese embassy should sail from Japan on or before Washington's birthday, on February 22nd, 1860.

after fourteen years "at the option of the *Japanese* Government" to an express stipulation of the same power of revision "at the option of *either* government." The additional ports to be periodically and gradually opened had been already conceded in the American treaty. Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki were to be opened to British subjects on July 1st, 1859; Nee-e-gata, or some other convenient port on the west coast of Niphon, on January 1st, 1860 (a provision of the treaty not yet acted upon); and Hiogo, the port of the city Ohosaka, on January 1st, 1863.

The British ambassador touched at Simoda on his way to Yeddo, and there received from Mr. Harris on August 11th, 1858, the draft of his treaty already concluded and signed, and the loan of the services of the gentleman attached as interpreter to the American Consulate. It is creditable to all parties concerned that both these gentlemen have received, on the recommendation of Lord Elgin, the present of a valuable gold snuff-box decorated with diamonds from the British Government as a recognition of their services in assisting the successful negotiation of the British treaty of Yeddo.

The great crowning success of Mr. Harris's treaty was the stipulation of the ratifications being finally exchanged in the city of Washington. It is probable that the Japanese Government did not at first perceive the full consequences of such a deviation from their traditional policy in sanctioning the departure of some of the great princes and nobles of the land

on a mission to a distant foreign state, and the implied virtual abolition by such a marked precedent of the cruel and sanguinary law of Japan against those who travelled into other countries. No slight tact and firmness were evinced by Mr. Harris in disarming their suspicious jealousy and inducing them finally to perform this part of the stipulations. The doubts and surmises of most foreigners in those parts continued until the last moment; and only when the members of the Japanese ambassadorial suite were fairly on board the American frigate and sailing out of the Bay of Yeddo, did the importance of this event and its varied train of moral and social consequences to the future of Japan command its full attention and value before the observing gaze of Christendom. Probably four-fifths, and in the estimate of some foreigners even nineteen-twentieths, of the ruling powers of Japan are opposed to these recent changes; while the people, as distinguished from the Daimios and their retainers, show no signs of dislike, but rather every symptom of preference for an extension of foreign intercourse.

The two ministers for foreign affairs fill an office whose duties are of recent creation, and are members of the supreme administrative Council of State. Under these there are nine subordinate officers named *Bunyo* or "*governors* of foreign affairs." They fill the position of under-secretaries of state to the two chief ministers and members of the inner cabinet. They bear the titular rank of *kami* ("lords") with the

honorific addition of some locality, as a kind of nobility or knighthood of a life-tenure distinguished from the same designation of *kami* as applied to the hereditary nobles and Daimios of the empire. During my visit to the governor of Nagasaki, the incidental allusion to his titular rank and the discovery of his being a life-kami without territorial possessions, was an unfortunate episode in the conversation, and appeared to wound his sensitiveness to matters of precedence and rank. These "governors of foreign affairs" are generally selected for their efficiency and tact, and fill in turn the various situations which bring them into intercourse with foreign nations. The governors of the open ports of Nagasaki and Hakodadi belong to this number, and are usually changed after a year or two spent in local tenure of office. The others go down for about a month each in turn to Kanagawa, and generally transact matters of foreign intercourse in the neighbourhood of Yeddo. They are of course each supplied with their secretaries, controllers or spies,—an office which does not carry with it any idea of humiliation or dishonourable secresy, but merely that of a censor and check to make independent official reports. These latter appear to be the officers generally called vice-governors or secretaries to the governor at Nagasaki.

The vice-governors or secretaries to the governors of foreign affairs, are employed as a convenient medium of communication with foreign officials, and do

not appear to fill any position of rank. While I was spending a few hours at the residence of the American Consul-General, one of them was announced as having come on a mission from the high Japanese authorities. He waited patiently for more than an hour until the gentleman who fills the post of American interpreter was at leisure to attend to his business. It turned out to be a communication from the native government informing Mr. Harris that they had received official despatches announcing the safe arrival of the American frigate with the Japanese embassy across the Pacific, as far as the Sandwich Islands. Before I left these parts, public intelligence of their arrival at the Californian port of San Francisco reached the city of Yeddo; and the hospitable attentions which they received formed an exciting subject of popular discussion among the Japanese.*

* Of the two following paragraphs the former is an extract from an American newspaper published at Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands, containing an account of the arrival of the Japanese ambassadors at that port, and the names of the individuals forming their numerous suite.

The second is an extract from a New York paper, announcing their arrival at the Californian port of San Francisco, and the return of the Japanese accompanying steamer to Yeddo.

"THE JAPANESE EMBASSY.

"The arrival in our harbour of the Japanese Embassy to the United States, is a matter of no ordinary interest. This embassy consists of two ambassadors plenipotentiary, who are nobles or princes of the highest rank. With these are two others of nearly equal rank, a censor and a vice-governor. The duty of these latter officers is to act as reporters of the conduct of the ambassadors and others employed in the commission, and also to report any-

There are two high officials at Yeddo who appear to discharge the functions of ministers of public wor-

thing that may pass under their observation. The number comprising the embassy may be thought by foreigners to be very large, consisting as it does of seventy-two persons, viz.: two ambassadors, one censor, one vice-governor, sixteen under-officers and secretaries, and fifty-two servants or soldiers, viz.:

" 1. *Ambassador*—Simme-Bujen-no-kami.
" 2. *Ambassador*—Muragake-Awage-no-kami.
" 3. *Chief Censor* (*or Spy*)—Ogure-Bungo-no-kami.
" 4. *Vice-Governor*—Morita Okataro.
" *Officers of the 1st Rank belonging to the Ambassadors*—Naruse Gensiro, Skahara Jhugoro.
" *Officers of the 1st Rank belonging to the Censor*—Hetaka Keisaburo, Osakabe Tetstaro.
" *Under-officers belonging to the Ambassadors*—Matsmoto Sannojio, Yosida Sagosaimou.
" *Under-officers of the Vice-Governor*—Masudu Sunjuro, Tuge Hosingoro.
" *Under-officers of the Censor*—Kuri-sima-hico-hatsiro, Sewosawa-Scogero.
" *Officer and Chief Interpreter*—Namura Gohatsiro.
" *Interpreters*—Tateish Tokujuro, Tateish Onagero.
" *Doctors*—Meodake, Morayama, Cowasaki.

" It must be remembered that the Japanese as well as the Chinese dignitaries think that high rank demands a large retinue. The same ideas prevail with our native nobility, as well as with most semi-civilised people. Before starting, the Japanese were assured that a train of servants would be annoying in travelling through the United States. But they were unable to comprehend the argument, and demanded that they should be allowed to travel according to their custom."

" LATER FROM JAPAN.

" *Washington, Nov.* 16, 1860.

" The State Department has received advices from Minister Harris, of the 5th July. He states that the Japanese steamer 'Candinamarrah,' had arrived at Yeddo from San Francisco, and on the return voyage was navigated by Japanese alone. This,

ship, called *Zi-sa bunyo* ("Temple Lords.")* They take cognisance of the religious buildings of both Budhists and Sintoists alike; and the first two monosyllables in this title are made up of the terms for a Budhist and a Sintoist temple respectively. Priests

he says, 'is the first instance in which a vessel conducted solely by Asiatics has successfully crossed the Great North Pacific Ocean, and strikingly proves the Japanese to be so capable of improvement that they might soon place themselves at the head of Oriental enterprise, if allowed to freely cultivate the great powers they possess.' The commander of the steamer, with two governors for foreign affairs, had called on Mr. Harris, saying they came by command of the Tycoon, and were directed to express to him his Majesty's sincere thanks for the friendly and cordial manner in which the commander and officers of his steamer were received by the authorities and people of San Francisco. They were directed to thank him particularly for the complete repairs of the steamer at Mare Island navy-yard, and express the deep sense his Majesty entertained of the kindness and courtesy of Captain Cunningham, commander of the yard.

"The reports of the officers of the 'Candinamarrah,' and letters received from the embassy, with full accounts of the reception at San Francisco, and the kindness shown them by all classes of our people, have produced a lively sensation, especially among the nobles heretofore opposed to the treaty of Yeddo. One of the officials naively remarked to Mr. Harris, 'We did not believe you when you told us of the friendly feelings of your country for us; but we now see that all you said was true.' Mr. Harris is of the opinion that when the ambassadors return to Japan, relate their reception by the President, repeat their large experience in the States, and when they state what they have seen of the greatness and prosperity of our country, it will have an important effect on the minds of the recalcitrant Daimios, and lead to a better state of feeling on their part towards us and towards the intercourse of foreign nations."

* The following statement of Thunberg (vol. iv. p. 30) is appropriate to this subject:—

"Every order or sect has constantly its general resident in Miako; besides which every church or convent has its own

occupy an intermediate rank between soldiers and medical practitioners. Some of them are of high rank, especially those belonging to the non-celibate sects of Budhists, whose rich endowments form a great temptation to the scions of the aristocratic families of the highest nobles. The priestly superior of the Simpf-ku-ji (Budhist) monastery, in which the American minister resides, is the grandson of a former prime minister in the court of the spiritual emperor at Miako,—an officer who takes precedence immediately after the Mikado and three steps in honorary dignity above the Tycoon.

The divisions of social rank comprise the following eight gradations in the descending scale:—

1. The highest Daimios or territorial princes. 2. The secondary class of nobles. 3. Military officers and soldiers. 4. Priests. 5. Physicians and the lower order of government *employés*. The three remaining classes comprise artisans, agriculturists, traders, merchants, shopkeepers and labourers.

Some of the abbots of the richest monastic foundations in the capital are entitled to the dignity of wearing two swords, and supply their proportion of retainers to the Tycoon for the military defence of

superior. Exclusively of these, they have likewise at the secular emperor's court in Yeddo their ecclesiastical plenipotentiary, whose business it is to settle such disputes as concern temporal matters in the country, as likewise to take cognisance of the misconduct of those who are in holy orders. But when sentence of death is to be passed upon the latter, the warrant must always be previously signed by the general of the order."

the country. These form a class higher than that of ordinary priests and come before the military class.

Much anxiety will be felt respecting the prospects of Christian toleration in Japan and the repeal of those severe penal laws which for above two centuries have prohibited on pain of death any Japanese from embracing the Christian religion. It is to be hoped that the visit of high Japanese princes to the United States, the conciliatory friendliness of foreign officials in Japan, and the disinterested benevolence of the medical missionaries who are beginning to settle in the newly-opened ports, may gradually break down these barriers of restrictive jealousy, and at length cause the old penal laws of persecution to become practically obsolete and void. At the present time the following facts embrace the whole statement of the question.

In the American treaty (as it has been before incidentally noticed) a special clause exists stipulating for the permanent abolition of the custom of trampling on the cross; and American citizens are allowed to profess the Christian religion in Japan. In the Dutch treaty an invidious stipulation is inserted requiring all Dutch subjects to abstain from the circulation of Christian books. In none of the treaties with foreign nations do any clauses exist bearing any resemblance to the articles in the Chinese treaty of Teen-tsin, which secure toleration for native converts to Christianity and free liberty of action to Christian missionaries in itinerating under a system

of passports from foreign consuls through every part of the Chinese empire.

The American Consul-General in his preliminary discussions with the Tycoon's prime minister, Hotta Prince of Bitsu, chief of the great council and minister for foreign affairs, is understood to have brought the whole question of religious toleration before this official. This Japanese statesman has the reputation of great intelligence, ability and liberality; but, like all the other officials who took a prominent part in negotiating the American treaty, he has fallen under a cloud of imperial displeasure or (what is the more true state of the case) of odium with the present council and the party of the Daimios now in the ascendant. He was reminded in the course of conversation that although Spain had originally sent her emissaries to the East with the triple object in view of mercantile gain, religious propagandism and territorial conquest, yet at the present time Western countries entertained no such views of ambitious policy, and that military conquest and subjugation of native races by means of religious conversion was no part of the schemes cherished by foreigners individually or collectively. His attention was drawn to the fact that the government of the United States tolerated all religions, and that at San Francisco a Budhist temple built by the Chinese was permitted to stand in close vicinity to a Christian church. He was warned of the number of foreigners likely to flock to the open ports of Japan, and of the probability that some of the Japanese

servants congregated around their families and persons might hereafter embrace Christianity and render themselves amenable to the punishment of death. Mr. Harris urged the government to repeal the edict of the year 1638, which exterminated Christianity from Japan, by the direct appeal:—"You permit Budhists, Jews, Mahomedans and Parsees to come to your country without any ban on their religion. You tolerate every religious creed and persecute Christianity alone. If you spill the blood of Japanese subjects for no other reason than that they have embraced the religion of the most powerful nations of the West, how will it be possible to prevent serious misunderstandings and ultimately even war itself, unless you cease to persist in a policy so exceptional and so sanguinary?" The Japanese high functionary listened attentively and avoided further reference to the unwelcome topic by replying:—"The heart of this people is hard: you must wait awhile." In other words, he begged foreign nations to exercise patient forbearance and to hope for the growth of a more liberal and tolerant policy.

Shortly before my arrival one of my missionary friends had in the course of an excursion near Kanagawa noticed a number of ancient imperial proclamations posted up in a place of public resort, and reported to be generally distributed over the whole country. The notification enjoined a command on the people to obey the imperial will in the following particulars of duty. All farmers, artisans and unprivileged classes were prohibited from wearing swords.

The people were warned against harbouring fugitives from public justice. The inhabitants were commanded to capture all the emperor's stray hawks and restore them to the imperial falconer. And lastly, a reward of 300 pieces of silver (dollars) was offered to any person who would give information against any "Ke-ris-tan" (a Portuguese *Christian*), "Romanist" (the "*religion of the Lord of Heaven*"), or "brethren" (probably Dutch Christian *brethren*). Thus it appears that the formalities and semblance of persecution are retained after above two centuries have elapsed. A singular circumstance connected with these edicts is that they have not their origin in any present policy of the Japanese Government, but are merely old proclamations nearly illegible and defaced by age, and having the inscriptions retraced and renewed from time to time.

And yet there are also present indications that the Japanese Government are loth to abandon altogether their past measures of restriction against the Christian religion. Dr. Hepburn on his first arrival was visited by agents of the custom-house, and a demand was made by one of the vice-governors of Kanagawa or assistant under-secretaries of foreign affairs, that all his Chinese books should be delivered up to the Japanese authorities. It was well known to them that a great portion of these were Christian books. The missionary refused to give up any books except through the medium of the United States' Consul at the port; and they forbore to press the matter.

It is a noticeable fact also that no native teacher of the missionaries is willing to receive a Christian

book. One of this class on opening a copy of St. Luke's gospel in Japanese and Chinese, laid it down in great haste, and with considerable alarm closed the book.

The most remarkable fact respecting the old prescriptive hostility of the Japanese Government against Christianity which came to my knowledge at Yeddo, was reported by foreign gentlemen fully competent by their official standing and personal opportunities of observation to authenticate their statement. In a part of the city called Ao-yama there are now in existence a hundred families congregated in one spot and dwelling by themselves, the descendants of a hundred native Christians, who during the sanguinary severity of the persecution waged by the Emperor Tyco-sama and his successor Eyay-yes against Christianity, had renounced the Christian faith, and had their lives spared on condition that they and their descendants in all time should retain a knowledge of the abjured religion in order to qualify themselves to act in every age as a body of religious detectives and inquisitors for discovering and destroying the hated and proscribed sect. Supported by the emperor and released from all other labour for their subsistence, they form a separate body even to the present time, and receive a daily payment of five rations of rice for each family from the imperial treasury. The old laws against Christianity still exist, and this ancient machinery for working a religious inquisitorship still remains; but they may have become a dead letter. A strange but not impossible result it would

be, if, under a more favourable state of things, an instrumentality originally designed for the repression and extermination of the Christian faith should be converted, in the providence of the Almighty, into an agency and means for diffusing the Gospel throughout the Japanese empire.

The only case of even the semblance in the present generation of any surviving knowledge and profession of Christianity in the whole of Japan, came under the observation of the Russian ambassador, Count Poutiatin, in the year 1854. During the detention of the Russian frigate "Diana" at Simoda in that year a Japanese came on board and made signs to be taken into the cabin. After having caused the door to be shut, he secretly drew a cross from his bosom, and by mentioning the names of Jesus and Mary showed that he was a descendant of the old native Roman Catholic Christians. A Russian "pope" in the capacity of naval chaplain was walking on the shore, and had his attention first attracted to the man by these secret symbols. He was afterwards taken to Russia, and is said to be still in the neighbourhood of the Amoor in some capacity of the Russian service. This is acknowledged by Roman Catholic padres to be the only known instance of there being a single hereditary native Christian in Japan, who has survived the rigours of former persecutions.

My visit to the American Consul-General was made in a norimon during a heavy fall of rain, which did not however prevent me from observing the interesting character of the suburbs through

which I was carried amid green lanes, pleasant gardens, and extensive parks enclosing the palaces of princes and nobles, occasionally varied by bridges leading over a narrow river, and little suburban townships containing their busy and peaceful population. The unpleasant part of these trips is the necessity of being accompanied by five or six armed Yakoneens, as guardians and guides. Sometimes a swordless individual was noticed in advance, a secret spy, who on a given signal took up his position in our retinue, and enabled his predecessor in the same capacity to stop at that point in our route. The whole system appears to us a mystery; but personal safety probably requires a compliance with this requisition of the authorities. As we emerged from the fine stately avenue of trees through the principal gateway of the Legation into the Tokaido, that same scene reminded us of incidents of recent occurrence which prove the dangerous malignity of this race when inflamed by a sense of humiliation and desire of revenge. A Japanese, named Dan, was rescued eleven years ago from a native wreck blown out to sea, and was carried across the Pacific in a foreign vessel to California. He spent some years in the United States, and returned in Commodore Perry's expedition to his native country. He was not permitted to remain in Japan through the old severe law against Japanese who visit foreign lands. On the arrival however of the British envoy, he came to Yeddo as an attendant attached to the Legation. In this capacity he was not careful in avoiding mani-

festations of lofty arrogant bearing towards native officials in his supposed exemption from unpleasant consequences as a member of the British service. The day of retribution however came. He was warned to leave Yeddo, and to retire out of harm's way to Kanagawa. He continued however proudly insolent and defiant to the last. Just outside the gateway a short sword was plunged into his back by an unknown hand. He had strength and time to rush within the entrance and to seek the help of the native guards. They drew out the blade at his request, and the life-blood gushed forth. In a few minutes he ceased to breathe.

The best-informed of foreign officials at Yeddo appear to consider these assassinations as prompted by the fanatical excitement of the Daimios who are opposed to foreign intercourse. The proud oppressive princes and lords of the soil are not without reason apprehensive lest the entrance of foreigners into the land and the diffusion of European ideas among the people may awaken political aspirations among the lower classes. The great Daimios of the empire are much given to intoxicating liquors; and it is probable that during the inebriating excitement of their drinking feasts, their fears of foreign influence may be expressed and assassinations may be plotted.

On my visit to the French *chargé d'affaires*, M. Duchesne de Bellecourt, I was accompanied in walking the distance, about a mile, by one of the gentlemen attached to the British Legation. The temple occupied by the French official establishment is, like those

of the British and American diplomatic residences. strongly guarded by a body of Japanese officers. Wooden huts tenanted by native sentries occupy the entrance of the courts, and everything wears the aspect of strict custody, espionage and seclusion. The garden of the French Legation is beautifully situated on the edge of a precipice overhanging the Tokaido with its busy streets below, and commanding an extensive view of the harbour and its five island batteries, the newly constructed fortifications on the shore, the suburb of Sinagawa lying on the right, and Treaty Point over twenty miles of the bay descried in the dim hazy distance. The government has lately been engaged in sinking stones between the five islands and rendering the city unapproachable by vessels of large size. These however would prove a poor defence against Armstrong guns in these days of long ranges, in the unfortunate event of warlike collision with foreign fleets and armaments.

A few hundred yards' walk brought us thence to the little temple forming the quarters of the Abbé Girard, late a missionary in Loochoo, and now acting as interpreter to the French Government. Although when riding abroad he usually wears the ordinary costume of a layman, we found him on this occasion wearing a priest's cassock and living in this Budhist temple without any concealment of his sacred office. His popular manners and urbanity of disposition are calculated to win for him a favourable reception. The entrance to his temple court was guarded by native officers, and the long passage leading to his furnished

apartment was lined with about thirty Yakoneens. All freedom of action is excluded during the operation of this restrictive system. Such bodily exercise as is necessary for the preservation of health, is the only out-door recreation likely to be enjoyed by foreigners accompanied at every step by a troop of guards and spies. If necessary to bodily safety, it is far from being conducive to personal agreeableness. Relays of Yakoneens are always at hand ready to take their turn of duty in dogging our footsteps and prying into all our movements.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE LOOCHOO ISLANDS.

NATURE OF LOOCHOOAN DEPENDENCY UPON JAPAN. — CAPTAIN BASIL HALL'S ACCOUNT. — LOOCHOO NAVAL MISSION. — EARLY DIFFICULTIES OF MISSIONARIES. — EMBARRASSMENT OF NATIVE GOVERNMENT. — PASSIVE RESISTANCE. — ABANDONMENT OF MISSION. — AUTHOR'S VISIT TO LOOCHOO IN 1850. — LOOCHOO A FIEF OF THE JAPANESE PRINCIPALITY OF SATSUMA. — BIENNIAL TRIBUTE-JUNK TO CHINA. — CHARACTER AND APPEARANCE OF PEOPLE. — EXPLANATORY OFFICIAL DESPATCH FROM THE REGENT OF LOOCHOO. — HIS HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL FACTS RESPECTING THE LOOCHOO ISLANDS. — THE FRENCH MISSION. — LIBERAL POLICY OF THE LATE PRINCE OF SATSUMA.

THE past history and present condition of the Loochoo Islands, and the real nature of their dependence upon Japan, are a subject of interesting investigation at the present time. The Abbé Girard was until recently a missionary in that country, and is therefore well qualified to give information respecting Loochoo. The author himself spent a week at Napa in the Great Loochoo Island in the autumn of 1850, and is thus enabled to bring the advantage of personal observation to the subject. Captain Basil Hall and his fellow-voyagers were among the first visitors who brought back to Europe a report of these interesting islanders; and it will be within the remembrance of many persons that his narrative excited a remarkable amount

of attention in the literature of the day. The visit of Commodore Perry's vessels and frequent calls from the ships of war of European nations, have within the last few years brought the inhabitants of this group of islands into more familiar knowledge. Recent experience has tended to dissipate some of those feelings of romance with which we were accustomed in the days of our childhood to regard the people of Loochoo, as a portion of the human race singularly unsophisticated in the artless simplicity of their disposition, exempt from most of the evils which follow in the train of a higher civilisation, destitute of a circulating medium in the shape of money, ignorant of the use of weapons, hospitable to strangers, dwelling together in peace, and apparently realising an almost Utopian conception of a sinless paradise isolated from the rest of the world in these eastern seas.

In the year 1846 a Protestant missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, landed at Napa, the south-western extremity of the principal island and forming a kind of maritime suburb to Shuidi, the capital, situated at three miles' distance. He was supported by a committee of naval officers (among whom was one of the surviving lieutenants of Captain Basil Hall's ship), who constituted themselves into a missionary association for the special object of converting the Loochoo islanders to Christianity.* It will be apart from my present object to enter into the details of their early

* In making this passing allusion I cannot omit to express my unfeigned respect for this excellent body of Christian gentlemen, including among their number several noble-hearted members of the naval profession.

discouragements and perseverance in spite of difficulties. Two Roman Catholic missionaries also settled for a time in Loochoo, but ultimately abandoned the mission in despair of success. At the time of my visit in 1850 Dr. Bettelheim was the only missionary who remained at his solitary post. It would exceed the limits of this brief chapter to relate at length the incidents of his first landing in 1846 from a merchant-vessel which immediately after sailed away,—the surprise of the natives, and the alarm of the Loochooan authorities at the sudden and unexpected arrival of a European stranger amongst them. At first the arts of mild persuasion, afterwards less dubious marks of opposition, and, lastly, a system of open annoyance and intimidation, appear to have been employed to dislodge him from his position. Letters had been addressed, both by the Loochooan authorities and by the Chinese imperial commissioner at Canton, to the British plenipotentiary at Hongkong, requesting the compulsory removal of the missionary family. The native population, at first friendly and well disposed, were prevented from visiting the mission dispensary, or holding any intercourse with the foreigners; and such was the universal terror inspired by the emissaries of the government, that the appearance of the missionary was the signal for a general dispersion of the people.

As far as could be ascertained during my visit, there appeared to be no decided hostility towards the Christian religion, nor any jealousy on behalf of their own superstitious usages. Political fears were at the

bottom of the whole policy. On the one hand, they dreaded the vengeance of their Japanese masters, who would view the residence of a European in Loochoo as the first step towards breaking down the exclusiveness of Japan itself. On the other hand, they had secret fears of the displeasure of the British Government at any violence done to a British subject. The British Government itself was embarrassed by frequent correspondence arising out of the position of the missionary; but deemed it right, on the representations of the friends of the mission, to direct that a man-of-war should from time to time touch at Loochoo. It was on the occasion of such a visit that H.M.S. " Reynard," in which I was sailing to the northern ports of China, put into Loochoo, and conveyed a despatch to the native authorities endeavouring to secure their more favourable and friendly bearing towards a British subject. Interviews were held between the captain of our ship and the highest native officials for the purpose of delivering Lord Palmerston's letter, and of disarming the fears and suspicions of the Loochooan Government.

We made excursions to the capital and explored the neighbouring portions of the island. The regent of this miniature kingdom gave us a public entertainment, and before our departure received a return of British hospitality on board the ship. Everything was done to secure a better position for the missionary. But the same system of passive resistance and baffling his attempts to hold intercourse with the natives was resumed. A *cordon* of native police was

drawn around his dwelling. His domestic servants were appointed by the government and changed every ten days. Fixed rations of food were served to him and his family. His bodily safety was insured, but all intercourse with the people was effectually stopped. The missionary himself, after contending for some years with this hopeless state of affairs, finally withdrew from Loochoo in the year 1854. A successor, the Rev. G. H. Moreton, remained for two years vainly endeavouring to conciliate the authorities, and finally broke down under the effects of shattered health. Since the close of 1855 no Protestant missionary has occupied that post; and in the face of the continued persistency of the Loochooan authorities in this course of passive resistance to all missionary efforts, it has been deemed inexpedient, if not impossible, to renew the mission. Besides, it was felt that the Japanese Government or (more accurately speaking) the agents of the Prince of Satsuma exerted an all-powerful control over this subject dependency, and that a continuance of the mission under such exceptional circumstances was to expose the local authorities themselves to severe punishment by their Japanese conquerors. The recently opened ports of Japan itself afford also a more convenient opportunity and sphere of labour for the renewal of a Protestant mission.

The Roman Catholic mission was resumed before the departure of our Protestant missionaries; and two padres now remain in Loochoo. The Abbé Girard has removed to Yeddo, and is now created

pro-vicar apostolic and superior of the mission of Japan and Loochoo. He has one missionary also stationed at Hakodadi, the newly-opened Japanese port on the more northern island of Yesso.

It was long a matter of doubt whether the Loochoo islands belonged to the Chinese empire or to the Japanese. The true statement of the case appears to be that these islands are an appanage of the principality of Satsuma on the south-western extremity of Japan by right of conquest; and that they owe to China the debt of their partial civilisation and literature, and their honorary elevation by the Chinese emperor to the dignity of a kingdom and tributary dependency of the "Son of Heaven." The most probable hypothesis is that Loochoo was originally peopled by a colony of mixed descent, Japanese, Chinese and the neighbouring islanders, and subsequently subdued by Japan, to which people their physiognomy, language and customs bear a close affinity. A Japanese garrison of a few hundred soldiers occupies the citadel of their little capital; and these are the only persons who are permitted to wear arms. Every new king however receives his formal investiture from a Chinese officer specially deputed and sent for that purpose from Foochow. A Loochooan vessel trades to this Chinese city every year; and in every alternate year a tribute-junk also visits the same port with presents in token of vassalage to the Chinese emperor. Not a single Chinese is permitted to settle in Loochoo. The biennial present of some sulphur, copper and a few jars of sakee-spirit

amounting to a few thousand dollars in value, proves the existence of a kind of mediæval feudal ceremony, but implies no more direct government of Loochoo by the Chinese emperor. Even Corea, Japan and Siam are reckoned by the Chinese Government as among the tributary kingdoms dependent upon China. The Japanese of the present day on being reminded of this antiquated claim of the "Son of Heaven" over the empire of Japan, show signs of great amusement and laugh heartily at the assumption. I have heard it stated that the Loochooan presents sent to China are not so much viewed as tribute, as intended for sacrifices and thank-offerings for the imagined blessings of Confucianist doctrine received of old from China. Even at the present time, although the religion of the common people is Budhism, the highest families in Loochoo send every year some youths to be educated at Foochow or at Peking, who return as the depositaries of Confucian lore for continuing the instruction of their fellow-countrymen in the moral and political system of the Chinese sage. The Loochooan language is stated by the Abbé Girard to be a close dialect of the Japanese; but, like the Greek and Latin derivatives grafted upon the old Saxon English, Chinese terms form the almost exclusive vocabulary in the technical nomenclature of literature and science, and abound also in the colloquial intercourse of the learned classes.

Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries give an estimate of the moral state of the people greatly at variance with the impressions gathered

during the brief stay of Captain Basil Hall. Lying, fraud and petty theft prevail amongst them. The government appears to be a grievous oligarchy of literati immediately dependent upon the Japanese province of Satsuma. The lower orders are held in abject and servile submission by a severely oppressive system of espionage and police. The principal island is supposed to contain 50,000 people, of whom about 20,000 belong to Napa, and the same number to Shuidi the capital. The people are sunk in the greatest poverty, and appear to have nothing beyond the simplest necessaries of life. If to have few wants, and those easily satisfied, constitute riches, the Loochooans may be considered a contented, cheerful people. During my excursions as I viewed their merry countenances and listened to their light-hearted voices, I could not help reflecting on the universal law of compensation by which a wise and merciful Providence tempers the lots and equalises the conditions of mankind—causing the sons of luxury to pay the price of civilisation in many sorrows and cares, from which these children of nature enjoyed an immunity and exemption. The sweets of civil liberty, of social refinement, or of personal ambition, possess no charm for the man whose chief happiness is to satisfy hunger and to repel want.

The distinguishing peculiarity in the personal appearance of the Loochooans is the mode in which the men bind their hair into a top-knot. The crown of the head is shaven to the extent of two or three inches; and into this vacant space the surrounding

locks are drawn and plaited with the help of oil and lamp-black into the form of a circular comb. Two hair-pins of large size are then passed through, one above the other, extending forward and behind a couple of inches, and the fore-end of the lower pin is ornamented with a kind of star. Their rank is ascertainable by the metal of these hair-pins; the literati and dominant caste wearing ornaments made of silver, — and the lower classes, comprising the peasants, mechanics, the petty traders and the public slaves (called Oo-bang) wearing them of brass. The habits, customs and dress of the Loochooans very much resemble those of the Japanese. The common labourers may generally be seen working in the fields or bearing burdens along the streets with almost raimentless bodies and bare feet. They run over their coral roads with the same rapidity and ease as if their feet had attained the hardness of a horse's hoof. Except the magistrates and agents of the government, none of the inhabitants wear any head-dress. The sweet potato appears to be their principal food. Their houses consist of substantially built walls of coral stone, but their interior contains furniture of the scantiest kind. Squalor and dirt prevail amongst the people. The chief produce of the soil is paid to the Loochooan Government and the Japanese fief-lords of the country; and only a small pittance is reserved for the toiling peasantry. Money, although not unknown, prevails only to an inconsiderable amount; and all the petty transactions of trade are made by means of barter or an interchange of commodities. I accom-

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A LOOCHOOAN PRIEST AND GENTLEMAN.

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panied Dr. Bettelheim into the market-square; but a sudden rush of the people to the opposite side left the quarter in which we stood destitute of buyers and sellers. Native spies preceded us in every direction down the lanes and avenues of the suburbs, and succeeded by a system of secret signs in causing every door to be closed in anticipation of our advance. The streets were thus emptied wherever we strolled; and all intercourse was precluded with the people. Left to themselves, they always showed a friendly disposition towards the missionary; but the strict surveillance of the Japanese agents and police rendered every attempt at holding intercourse vain and fruitless.

Such is a sketch in outline of some of the chief characteristics of this interesting race of islanders secluded from the rest of the world on the western edge of the North Pacific Ocean.

A Chinese writer, named Chow-hwang, quoted in the "Chinese Repository" for 1837, visited Loochoo in the year 1757 as an envoy from China, and on his return gave an account of the islands to the reading portion of his countrymen. He gives a fabulous narrative of the origin of the Loochooan nation, as being founded by Teen-sun and ruled over by his descendants for a period of 17,802 years, after which the royal power passed into the hands of Shunteen, who belonged to a branch of the then ruling dynasty in Japan. Three distinct kingdoms for a time existed in Loochoo, all of which finally were merged in one monarch ruling by permission of the Chinese imperial

"Son of Heaven." They afterwards became a tributary kingdom to China; and this Chinese writer especially claims Loochoo as a vassal sovereignty of the Chinese emperor.

The only facts clearly deducible from these accounts are that the race of Loochooan kings was originally descended from a branch of the imperial family of Japan,—that for all purposes of government, taxation and revenue they are now subject to the Japanese Prince of Satsuma,—that a biennial tribute-junk still keeps up the semblance of dependence upon the Chinese emperor,—and that, whenever it suits the purpose and the policy of their Japanese masters, the local authorities of Loochoo are instructed to profess their subordination and allegiance either to China or to Japan. No Chinese junk is permitted to trade to Loochoo; and one or two Chinese who were despatched to Loochoo to act as teachers to the missionaries, were followed and hooted in the streets with all the clamorous curiosity of the mob and the troublesome interference of the native police usually excited by the sight of a foreign stranger strolling among the people. The Loochooan authorities stated in a public communication to Commodore Perry in 1853 — "Since the days of the Ming dynasty it has been our great pride to be ranked as one of the outer dependencies of China, and she has for ages given our king his investiture, and we have returned whatever we could prepare for tribute." And yet the Imperial Commissioners on the soil of Japan itself subsequently told Commodore Perry that "Loochoo was a distant

dependency over which the crown (of Japan) had limited control."

It was an astute stroke of policy when the Loochooan authorities called in the aid of the Chinese Imperial Commissioner Seu, the viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, in order to remonstrate with the British plenipotentiary at Hongkong, and to plead the articles of the treaty of Nanking as an argument for the forcible removal of Dr. Bettelheim, as a British subject residing beyond the distance of a day's journey from any of the consular ports of China. It was probably the first occasion known in the history of China and Japan, when the Imperial Governments of both countries were united in harmonious co-operation on any one measure of foreign policy.

The year A.D. 1609 is the date assigned by Von Siebold of the final subjugation of Loochoo by the Prince of Satsuma, who occupies the capital with a garrison of his own armed retainers, and levies on the hereditary nominal king an annual net revenue estimated at 100,000*l.* sterling. The poor islanders are said to be distressed by his heavy exactions, and were prohibited until recently from trading to Satsuma. Ten or twelve Loochooan junks now annually trade to Kagosima, a sea-port in Satsuma; and a number of junks from Satsuma continually make the voyage to Loochoo. In all their communications with foreign men-of-war, the Loochooan authorities were never allowed to mention the name of Satsuma or Japan. *Tuchara* is the locality with which alone they profess the liberty of trading. This spot long baffled the

inquiring curiosity of foreigners; but it is now discovered to be a small island laid down in Admiral Cecile's chart intermediate between Loochoo and Japan. The Prince of Satsuma, for purposes of his own, is suspected of compelling the Loochooans to conceal the fact of their direct connection with his dominions; and to have carried on for a long period of time a clandestine trade in foreign articles through the Loochooan trading junks which annually visit the Chinese consular city of Foochow. Foreign knives and forks, liqueurs, and wine-glasses were seen at an entertainment given in Satsuma to some Dutch naval lieutenants, and proved the fact of foreign luxuries being smuggled into the territory of this prince. The only incident of which I became cognisant as throwing any light on the connection of Loochoo with the *Imperial* Government of Japan, was the presence of some Loochooan envoys seen by a native Japanese of my acquaintance at Yeddo on the occasion of the accession of a new Tycoon, or the installation of a new king in Loochoo. The embassy and attendants amounted in all to one hundred persons, and were lodged in the palace of the Prince of Satsuma during their stay at Yeddo.

During the time which I spent at Napa a temporary sickness confined me for a day or two in my temple-lodging; and the report of my indisposition reaching the ears of the Loochooan authorities, greatly alarmed them with the fear of my being left behind by the ship and adding to the number of foreigners residing on the island. This led to their addressing to

the captain of the "Reynard" the following communication, which contains a fuller statement of their historical relations with China and Japan and the internal condition of the country than was ever obtained before. It is interesting to observe the adoption of the Chinese mode of dates and the reigns of the various Chinese emperors throughout the document, which was also written in Chinese, the usual language of diplomacy and of literature in the furthest East :—

"The dutiful petition of Ma Leangtsae (and others), Vice-Governor-General of Loochoo, setting forth the real truth.

"We learn from rumour that certain persons of your honourable ship being sick, and requiring Bettelheim's medical aid, have slept in the Quan-kwo-she temple (Dr. B.'s residence). Now if this should lead to their permanently remaining here it would cause us much uneasiness. Our humble country is poor, and the few sorts of grain which we grow are scanty. During the period of Bettelheim's residence here, all of us, from the highest to the lowest classes, have been constantly occupied in business concerning him, so as to be unable to attend to our avocations, which exposes us to severe want. If still more persons remain here, our troubles will be greatly increased, so that the nation will assuredly be unable to subsist.

"Our country is destitute of commerce; we are but a little nation; and the islands belonging to us are very small. Possessing neither gold, silver, copper, nor pearls — no raw, nor wrought silks, and having

only a few kinds of grain and vegetables, we scarcely deserve the name of a kingdom.

"Ever since the time when the Pinghan (the title of the former Government of Loochoo) was raised to the rank of an hereditary kingdom under the Ming (the last native Chinese) dynasty, and became tributary to China, whenever we carry tribute thither, we buy thence official caps and dresses, with medicines and other articles. Our supplies from China are, however, insufficient to meet our wants. But as the Tuchara islands belonging to Japan trade with all the neighbouring countries, we procure thence not only articles necessary for the tribute and various Chinese goods for carrying on our inland trade, but also rice, grains, timber, copper, tea, and other articles, in small and insufficient quantities. Grain being scarce in our poor country, our daily food consists chiefly of sweet potatoes, of which we have not one pound too many. When visited by the calamity of a typhoon or drought, even though we derive a moderate subsistence from the wild sago-tree, we should be unable to appease our hunger, and we should be compelled to borrow rice from those islands, which we consider as our special security against starvation. Alas! such is the melancholy statement respecting our country.

"When therefore in the 16th year of Kea-king (1812) and in the 17th and 18th years of Taoukwang (1837, 1838) ships came from England, America, and France, for the purpose of trading with us, we declined on the grounds before mentioned. In

the 11th year of Taou-kwang (1831), an English merchant-vessel arrived, wishing to trade. We again refused on the same grounds. In the 11th month of last year (December 1849) an envoy from the English Government arrived to deliver a despatch on the subject of commerce, but we declined again as before.

" Now, according to the above statement, it will be seen that, being but a poor people and destitute of wealth, we cannot carry on an extensive trade with other countries. Tuchara is not better circumstanced than our own island. Our coarse sugar, grass-cloth, &c., are bartered for the rice and other grain of that island, and for other articles, both for the due payment of tribute and for home consumption. Such a petty trade, therefore, is very different from the extensive commercial methods of other countries for gaining wealth and obtaining riches.

" We hear that the laws of Japan severely prohibit promiscuous trading with other countries. It is only at the port of Chang-ki (the Chinese rendering of the Japanese term *Naga-saki*, literally "Long Cape") where officers are stationed to keep a strict watch, that a fixed and limited number of ships with merchandise are admitted ; which port Chinese and Dutch merchants visit annually for trade.

" The people of Tuchara, although belonging to Japanese territory, yet being situated nearer to us, are permitted to trade with this place. But on their returning home, if they were to import prohibited articles by smuggling, in the event of detection by

the public officers they would be severely punished. If we were to trade with you, it would follow that the people of Tuchara would, in accordance with Japanese laws, be strictly prohibited from any intercourse with us. Even in the present year we are not only deficient in articles required for tribute, but also exposed to severe want in respect to articles for home consumption. If this should happen to be a year of famine, we have no means of remedying such an emergency, and must perish with hunger.

"Further, we have no medium of currency. On account of the scarcity of articles sold in the market, foreign ships on their arrival are unable to purchase a supply of provisions, and we therefore appoint special official purveyors to procure, if possible, the needful supplies from the villages.

"Further, during the course of several years past both your (English) and American ships have from time to time arrived, requiring large supplies, which gives employment to many of the officers and people, who are thus deprived of leisure for attending to their own avocations. This is a source of great inconvenience.

"Now as to the religion of the Lord of Heaven (the popular term by which Christianity, or rather the Roman Catholic form of Christianity, has been known), we have from ancient times attended to the doctrines of Confucius, and found therein principles wherewith to cultivate personal morality and to regulate our families, each according to our circumstances and condition in life. We endeavour also

to carry out the government of the country according to the rules and maxims which have been handed down to us by the sages and are calculated to secure lasting peace and tranquillity. Besides, our gentry, as well as the common people, are without natural capacity; and although they have attended exclusively to Confucianism, they have as yet been unable to arrive at perfection in it. If they should now also have to study, in addition, the religion of the Lord of Heaven, such an attempt would surpass our ability, and the heart does not incline to it. The people of Tuchara also are attached to the Confucian religion and classics, and bestow great study upon them. Should they hear that we are studying a new religion, viz. that of the Lord of Heaven, they would most certainly desist from all intercourse with us.

"This our regular and clear petition, with knocking of heads, we submit to the penetrating investigation of your excellency. Look down in pity upon us; cease to send people to remain here; and desist from the attempt to trade with us and to teach us Christianity. Thus the whole country, government officers and people, will be thankful for ever.

"An urgent petition.

"In Taou-kwang's reign the thirtieth year, the first day of the ninth month. (Corresponding to October 5th 1850.)"

The Loochoo Islands are a valuable possession to the Prince of Satsuma who exports thence all the sugar into Japan, where this commodity is not grown. This

prince was reckoned among the liberal party of Daimios favourable to foreign intercourse. An interesting young Japanese came in 1858 to the missionaries in Loochoo ostensibly from Oshima one of the intermediate islands, but really from the Prince of Satsuma himself, for the purpose of learning French, the knowledge of medicine and other foreign arts. From him the Abbé Girard and his colleagues heard of the presence of foreign men-of-war in Japan and the discussions respecting the treaties with European powers. One day the Loochooans reported that this Japanese youth had been killed by a fall from his horse in a fit of drunkenness. The real truth was suspected to be that he was violently made away with by order of the new regent, who belongs to the old conservative party in Japan, and administers the government of the Satsuma principality during the minority of his nephew, the present youthful prince. The liberal prince had just died, and the news of his death and that of the more prominent members of the liberal party of Daimios who bore a conspicuous part in the negotiations with foreigners, soon after reached the French mission at Loochoo, and furnished a ready solution of the disappearance of the Japanese youth. The Regent of Satsuma has discontinued the reforms and improvements of the late prince, with the professed desire of leaving such matters to be decided by the young prince himself on his attaining his majority and the administration of the principality.

Titsingh writing at the close of the last century

states that at that time there were a few liberals in Japan; and that the Japanese Tories, blinded in their national self-complacency and sense of superiority, received from the opposite party the sobriquet of "Frogs in a Well."

CHAP. XXIV.

THE TERRITORIAL PRINCES OF JAPAN.

THEIR RELATIVE POWER TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. — EXTENT OF RESPECTIVE LIMITS OF SUBJECTION, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL REVENUE. — NUMEROUS ARMED RETAINERS. — NO MIDDLE CLASS OF JAPANESE SOCIETY. — OUR PLANTAGENET PRINCES. — "HARAKIRI" THE USUAL SOLUTION OF A MINISTERIAL CRISIS. — FAMILIES OF PRINCES CONTINUALLY RESIDENT IN YEDDO. — HOSTAGES OF FIDELITY. — OCCASIONAL DEFIANCE AMONG THEIR NUMBER. — EFFECTS OF CENTRALISATION UPON THE CAPITAL. — LIST OF THE RICHEST DAIMIOS WITH AMOUNTS OF TERRITORIAL INCOME.

EVEN the most cursory study of the present social and political aspect of Japan will not have failed to impress the observer with the overwhelming preponderance of the great body of the territorial princes and lords in the government of the nation. Popular rights or the existence of a middle class in society can hardly be said to have a place among the thirty millions of Japan. The history of Japan has for a long series of ages been nothing more than a history of the great Daimios who have influenced Japanese politics and filled a prominent place in the internal struggles and conflicts for power.

The precise limits of their power, relatively to their own subjects and the supreme government of

the empire, are difficult to determine, and probably depend from time to time on the vigorous energy, reputed force of character and personal resources of each territorial prince, and on the varying effectiveness of the central government and the terror inspired by the administrative capacity and courage of the individual Tycoon who presides at the helm of state. It is likely that a missive from the Imperial Government commanding the recipient to perform the legalised form of suicide, would seldom be made the subject of an experiment in the case of the most powerful Daimios, who by the number of their retainers and the resources at their disposal might be tempted to become refractory in their allegiance to authority despotically exercised.

It has been the policy of successive Tycoons to diminish and divide the territories of the princes, and thus to augment the power of the central government. Out of the sixty-six original provinces only eighteen undivided territories of independent princes now remain; and the whole number of vassal chieftains of the first class now amounts to 264. These are termed *Daimios*, and their territorial revenue is of various amount, extending from above one million down to ten thousand *kokus* or measures of rice. The petty baronial chiefs whose revenue is below ten thousand *kokus* are designated by the term *Siomios*, although in popular phraseology they are ordinarily all alike called *Daimios*. A *koku* of rice is equivalent to 250 Chinese catties, or 333 English pounds avoirdupois; and is estimated at the present rate of value to amount to

three, or three and a half dollars, in money. Thus for every koku we may substitute about fifteen shillings, or, bearing in mind the difference in the relative expense of living in Europe and Japan, about three times that sum. The whole land is parcelled out among these grandees of the empire; and the revenue is paid to them by the peasant cultivators in the produce of rice according to a stipulated amount. A Japanese teacher who supplied the following list from an authorised public document, states that, as a general average, three-tenths of the produce of the soil are reserved for the cultivator, and the remaining seven-tenths are paid to the hereditary lords and rulers of the district. The latter are said to pay a small fraction of their income towards the general revenue of the Tycoon, who possesses moreover a large principality, extensive crown lands, and five specially exempted imperial cities as his own separate jurisdiction and a maintenance for the 80,000 retainers who compose his army and court. The vast revenues which belong to some of the great Daimios are frittered away in sustaining their separate bands of adherents and armed bodies of retainers, who form also a portion of the general military defences of the empire. Only official persons or the dependents of the territorial barons are permitted to wear two swords; and their ordinary dress is the only military garb known in the country. These are also the only soldiers in the land, and severe sumptuary laws on the article of dress and wearing swords keep all power within the circle of the privileged classes of nobility

and their dependents. Between this haughty and exclusive aristocracy and the lowest classes of society a wide chasm exists. The mercantile class sometimes contains individuals of considerable wealth, but merchants are held in low repute. The great Daimios are said in many instances to have greatly diminished in wealth. Several princes formerly possessed, like the present Prince of Ka-nga, a million of kokus of annual revenue, who have since suffered a decay in their territorial income or a division of their princely estates. They are reported also to view with disfavour the possible rise of a rich mercantile class in their midst, as a social element politically dangerous to their own retention of power. In some respects the state of Japan resembles the political condition of English society in the times of our Plantagenet princes; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an enlightened and resolute Tycoon might imitate the policy of our Edward IV. in fostering a middle class as a counterpoise to the power of the great barons, and building up the royal prerogative on the liberties and privileges of a newly-enfranchised mercantile and trading portion of the population. A liberal Tycoon encouraging foreign intercourse and promoting the interests of domestic commerce, might compensate himself for the enmity of the Daimios in the growth of a commercial and popular party in the state. Even a civil war among the territorial grandees excited by the grave questions of their foreign policy and relations towards the outer world of mankind, might, like the English wars of the Roses

issue in the downfall of the exclusive power of Japanese princes and barons, and at length inaugurate an era of constitutional monarchy in Japan.

Within his own territory each Daimio is considered to have the power of life and death over his subjects. Even within their palace-domain in the capital, the princes assume the right of supreme authority over their retainers, jealously repelling all imperial officers from an entrance and sometimes wreaking their vindictive displeasure in acts of sanguinary severity on the inmates. In former times cases were recorded of a reign of terror sometimes prevailing among their secretaries and subordinates while residing at the capital. It is considered to be a measure within the province of the Tycoon to take cognisance of acts of excessive cruelty in the princes; and instances are quoted of an unjust and oppressive Daimio receiving and obeying an imperial mandate to perform the "Harakiri." Even the Tycoon himself is supposed to be in this respect amenable to the supreme control of the Mikado, and an order from the spiritual emperor to go through the ceremony of the "Happy Despatch" is held to be obligatory on the secular emperor. The theory of these conflicting rights is doubtless easily reconciled by a prudent regard to the individuality of those in present possession of power; and no Tycoon or Daimio is put to the test of his fidelity to reputed law, who has not been previously disarmed of the means of resistance by his own weakness and the failure of material support. The precisely defined regulations respecting

the suicide of the members of the two great councils or the resignation of the secular emperor on the occasion of grave differences in state policy, are probably not the fruits of a written code, but the result of an unwritten law prescribing to the vanquished party in politics the prudential solution of a ministerial crisis and the expediency of preventing a dead lock in the government by succumbing to the sanguinary rigours of pagan retributive justice.

Some of the princes who belong to the number of the eighteen original rulers of undivided provinces, retain a considerable amount of power. The Prince of Satsuma, the second grandee in the empire in point of revenue and inferior to none in the prestige of power, rules his territory with all the rigour of an independent sovereign. Until recently no Japanese from another province was permitted to enter the forbidden soil of the principality of Satsuma; and popular rumour reports the threat of a former Prince of Satsuma,—that even if the Tycoon were to violate the sanctity of the prince's jurisdiction by treading without permission on the soil of Satsuma, the prince would order the Tycoon to be forthwith decapitated for his offence. The compulsory detention of the families of the princes at Yeddo is a strange fact viewed in conjunction with the theory of their separate jurisdiction and virtual independence in their own territory. The aggrandisement of the great council of administration is a more modern feature of their political system, and suggests to an observer the not improbable catastrophe of a great civil war

among the Daimios as a recoil from the unduly oppressive centralisation of the executive and a solution of present complications. The political machinery cannot be considered as perfect or in good working order, whose movements are compatible with the occasional defiance of a rebellious chieftain, as in the case of the Prince of Mito, resolutely holding his position of insubordination within a moderate distance of the capital.

One effect of the continued residence of the families of the princes in the capital is to concentrate upon Yeddo the wealth and refinement of the empire, and to throw into comparative unimportance the other cities of Japan with the exception of Miako, the spiritual capital. Another natural result of this centralisation has been to preserve a more than ordinary uniformity of spoken language throughout the country. Large bodies of princely retinues passing and repassing for three centuries on their annual journeys to the capital, have tended to promote a similarity of pronunciation, and to spare the Christian missionary the embarrassment and the toil of learning, as in China, a variety of colloquial dialects spread over every district of the empire. We accordingly find that the dialects of Nagasaki and Yeddo at the distance of above seven hundred miles so closely resemble each other as to form but one language varying only in a few very slight differences. Among these it may be mentioned that the hard sound of *g* at Nagasaki is pronounced *ng* at Yeddo; and thus the name of Na*g*asaki becomes altered to Na*ng*asaki

in the colloquial pronunciation of the people of Yeddo. The common aspirate *h* as sounded in *H*igo and *H*izen at the capital, is changed into *F*igo and *F*izen in the language of Nagasaki.

The following list contains the names of fifty-one Daimios, whose annual income amounts to 100,000 kokus and upwards. Their revenue is paid in kind, and it has been observed by Japanese to foreigners that the stipulated quantity of rice being unchangeable under any circumstances of scarcity or failure of average crop, the badness of a season operates in two different directions on the peasantry who cultivate the soil and on the princes who live on its produce as their revenue. An unfavourable season diminishes the amount of grain and impoverishes the farming population; and at the same time raises the price of rice and augments the income of the lords of the soil. A good harvest gives a fair residue to the husbandman and infuses plenty into the rural dwellings of the poor; and at the same time diminishes the market value of the fixed quantity of kokus of rice which belong to the feudal princes of the empire.

Names of Daimios.	Amount of Revenue in kokus of rice.
The Prince of Kanga . . .	1,027,700
„ „ Satsuma . . .	770,800
„ „ Sendai . . .	625,600
„ „ Hosokawa . . .	540,000
„ „ Kuroda . . .	520,000
„ „ Aki	426,000
„ „ Moöri	369,000
„ „ Habeshima . . .	357,000
„ „ Sangami . . .	325,000

Names of Daimios.	Amount of Revenue in kokus of rice.
The Prince of Ikeda . . .	315,200
„ „ Iikamong . . .	350,000

[This prince was the recently assassinated *Goteiro*, the regent of the empire, a kind of prime minister during an imperial minority, the office being considered hereditary among the members of two families.]

The Prince of Todo	323,950

[This prince, with eight other Daimios, is charged with the care of the spiritual emperor's domain.]

Hachiska Awa no kami . . .	257,900
Gamano uchi Tosa no kami . . .	242,000
Arimanaka tikasa tai iu . . .	210,000
Sataki ukiono tai iu	205,800
Nambu mino no kami . . .	200,000
Uesz'ngi dan jio no tai hi tsz . .	150,000
Matz'daira Oki no kami	150,000
„ Etsz chiu no kami . .	110,000
„ Shimoösa no kami . .	100,000
Oku daira daizen no tai ru . . .	100,000
Matz'daira daizen no tai ru . . .	151,088
Sakakibara Shikibu tai iu . . .	150,000
Ongasawara Sahiono tai iu . . .	150,000
Sakai utano kami	150,000
Sakai Sayemong no jio . . .	140,000
Okubo kanga no kami . . .	113,129
Inaba naga tono kami . . .	102,000
Tachinabana kida no kami . . .	119,600
Niwa sakivu no tai iu . . .	100,100
Tsz' ngaru echchiu no kami . .	100,000
Sanada Shina no ro kami . . .	100,000
Abekarima no kami	100,000
Abe ise no kami	110,000

[This prince was a member of the Great Council of State, and prime minister during the time when Commodore Perry was in Japan.]

Todo uneme no shio . . .	100,000
Hotta bitsu no kami . . .	110,000

[This prince negotiated the U.S. treaty with Mr. Consul-General Harris, and is now involved in disgrace and political retirement.]

Sowo tsz' shima no kami . . .	100,000

Names of Daimios.	Amount of Revenue in kokus of rice.
GO SAN KAY (the "Great Three Families")— These are the titular brothers of the emperor at Yeddo, viz. :—	
—— Owari chiuna rego . . .	619,500
—— Kii chiu joö . . .	550,000
—— Mito chiunango . . .	350,000
Matsz'daira Sanoki no kami . .	180,000
„ „ Echi ngo no kami . .	100,000
„ „ Echi dzen no kami . .	320,000
„ „ Dewa no kami . . .	186,000
„ „ Hachiwa maro . . .	170,000
„ „ Hiobu tai ira . . .	100,000
„ „ Hingo no kami . .	230,000
„ „ Kadz'ze no kami . .	100,000
„ „ Bingngo no kami . .	100,000
Date dai dzen no tai iu . . .	100,000
Total income of 51 Daimios .	12,677,367

All besides the abovementioned have incomes of less than 100,000 kokus, and form, with these 51, a total of 264 Daimios, exclusive of the Siomios, whose revenue is less than 10,000 kokus.

CHAP. XXV.

EXCURSION TO OJI.

SUBURBAN BEAUTIES OF YEDDO. — VILLAGES AND GARDENS. — MOAT OF CITADEL. — OUTLYING ARISTOCRATIC QUARTER. — PALACES OF GRANDEES. — THE "IMPERIAL BROTHERS." — PRINCE OF KII. — PRINCE OF OWARI. — PRINCE OF MITO. — PRINCE OF KANGA, THE WEALTHIEST DAIMIO, AND HEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. — THE REPUTED LIBERALS OF THE EMPIRE. — A NURSERY-GARDEN. — RICHLY CULTIVATED COUNTRY. — REFECTORY-HOUSE AT OJI. — INCONSIDERABLE RIVERS IN JAPAN. — IMPERIAL ARCHERY GROUND. — TYCOON'S SHOOTING-BOX. — JAPANESE SENTIMENTALISTS AND POETS. — RAIN-COATS. — RETURN THROUGH THE "COMMERCIAL QUARTER."

DURING the latter part of my stay at Yeddo, I joined a party of four other English gentlemen in an excursion on horseback to a village named *Oji*, situated at about twelve miles' distance from the British Legation. Our route lay for some five or six miles through the same beautiful series of neat villages and green lanes, already described as lying in the vicinity of the most populous parts of the city and suburbs. At length when we imagined Yeddo to have been left far behind, we suddenly found ourselves on the sloping bank of the moat and amid the picturesque garden-like scenes of its overhanging coppices of cedar. We were skirting the third enclosure of the

citadel and the northern portion of the outlying "official quarter." The palaces of the great Daimios succeeded each other at short intervals, separated from the main road by a long range of wall, and containing within their circuit a considerable space of private grounds with surrounding parks and groves. Massive triple gates of red colour formed the well-guarded entrance into the outer court. We passed the palace of the Prince of Kii, the head of one of the three branches of the royal family who bear the titular designation of "Imperial Brothers," and now distinguished in numbering the reigning Tycoon among the scions of this principality. Soon after we reached the domain of the Prince of Owari, to whose branch of the royal family the recently deceased Tycoon belonged; and soon again we passed the palace of the Prince of Mito, the third branch of royalty, the son of the disappointed and disaffected Daimio who has assumed a hostile attitude towards the Imperial Government in revenge for his humiliation in the matter of the royal succession. At no great distance we passed also the palace of the Prince of Kanga, a fine old stronghold lying on the bank of the moat over which we had to cross by a bridge, and having a populous street in its immediate vicinity. This chieftain is reputed to be the wealthiest and most powerful of the eighteen territorial grandees of the empire, virtually independent of the Tycoon as the self-styled "guests" of the emperor at Yeddo, and able at any time to fall back on the faithful service of their armed myriads of brave retainers. The Prince of

Kanga has 40,000 men of arms in the capital dispersed over his various palaces in the city and suburbs of Yeddo. He is regarded as the head of the conservative party of Daimios, and the principal supporter of a reactionary policy in regard to foreign nations. In the interval of time between the original drafting and the final signing of Mr. Harris's treaty, during which the formal assent of the Mikado and the great Daimios was procured to the official act of the Tycoon, the powerful Prince of Kanga is reported to have advocated strong measures of resistance against foreign encroachments, and to have placed his hand on his sword-hilt in a passionate outburst of patriotic enthusiasm, declaring that it would be better for the Japanese nobles to die fighting for their country's honour than to sign their consent to the revolutionary provisions of such a treaty. The Princes of Satsuma, Hizen, and Mito are among the reputed liberals of the empire; but the most advanced liberal in Japan is probably a being very different from the idea conveyed by the term in the phraseology of European politics. The smaller Daimios and Siomios, who amount in all to some hundreds in the empire, are apt to shelter themselves behind the more powerful leaders of their order, and, united together on any one point of foreign or domestic policy, they form a closely-compacted front of array which no Tycoon or Council of State can dare to offend.

A few miles' ride took us along a broad and well-constructed road lined over a great part on either side with shops and dwellings equalling those in the

mercantile quarter of Yeddo itself, until we reached the spacious and highly-cultivated open fields, or passed between the richly-wooded groves and hedges which enclosed the palaces and parks of the nobility. Private dwellings of exquisite taste, surrounded by little gardens of the rarest floricultural attractions, formed in these parts a more frequent spectacle. We visited on our way a fine nursery-ground, where every variety of flower and ornamental shrub was exhibited for sale in the prettiest of gardens, containing its little pool of water and tastefully erected rock-work, the whole occupying about an acre in extent. Trees of every species and form were to be purchased, with their trunks bent into fantastic shape or confined within a stunted growth. From the summit of the rockery the view extended over a verdant expanse of wooded country.

Our Yakoneens hastened us from this lovely spot and we pressed onward some three miles further to our destination. We rode over a succession of cultivated plains and standing crops of corn, fringed on every rising knoll by coppices of noble timber, and presenting a gorgeous scene of unsurpassed agricultural beauty and teeming fertility. We descended a little hill and at a sudden turn of the road found ourselves close upon the village of Oji amid crowds of men, women and boys, all impelled by curiosity or hoping to earn a few copper cash by attending to our horses. We were soon quartered in the public refectory-house situated on the bank of a running stream and shaded by overhanging branches of trees, where

Japanese damsels were quickly in attendance to wipe our shoes, to arrange our seats and to commence preparations for our mid-day meal. Here the oft-described characteristic scenes of similar establishments took place and added to the interest of the trip. While our Japanese attendants made ready the arrangements for our bodily refreshment, we took a walk about a mile into the neighbourhood and enjoyed a quiet stroll among the country-people.

We first visited a slight eminence which commanded a fine view of the surrounding country extending northward into the interior of Niphon, and marked by the silvery meandering waters of the river which flowed close to the base of the rising ground on which we stood. The limited extent of each Japanese island and the mountain-ranges by which every portion of its interior is intersected, present a physical impediment to the existence of large rivers and reduce every stream to a moderate size. Even the principal river which flows through the eastern portion of the city and finds an outlet in the head of the Bay of Yeddo, is an inconsiderable stream and scarcely averages two hundred feet in breadth. The little hill on which we pursued our ramble, is a fashionable resort for the holiday-keeping citizens of the capital and contains several objects of interest. Here stands an archery-ground for the soldiery of the Tycoon. Here also the simple furniture of a refectory is placed, capable of rendering the spot the speedily prepared scene of feasting for the imperial retinue. Here too are the hawking-grounds

of the Tycoon, whence on stated occasions his Imperial Majesty watches the careering flight of the falcon in pursuit of the heron, a bird sacred from the profane attempts of every common sportsman and considered as lawful game to the imperial falconers alone. We crossed over another mile of open fields between rural pathways and peaceful farming homesteads, among villagers and rustics, until we reached a temple of superior appearance, which is used as a kind of sporting-box by the Tycoon on the occasion of his annual or semi-annual retreat to these sequestered spots from the cares of state. Devious winding paths conducted us through little groves of trees close to the sinuous tortuous channel of a narrow but deep stream. The bark of the trees was in many parts covered with written sentences, containing the poetical effusions of sentimental visitors and recording their impressions on exploring these romantic spots. A little bridge soon conducted us to a more public road, over which a few minutes' walk brought us to the public refreshment-house. Here amid a panorama of green banks and overshadowing branches we enjoyed the cool breeze and listened to the gentle murmur of the stream flowing at the rear of the house below our apartment. Our provisions brought by a train of sturdy coolies had been cooked by the servants of the establishment. The landlady and her native maid-servants supplied our every want and anticipated every look. Our Yakoneens and Betos took the opportunity of catering for themselves and providing fodder for our horses, until the declining hour of the day and the

representations of our native guides warned us of the time for departure. A heavy shower of rain interrupted the preparations for our journey homewards, and delayed us for above an hour, necessitating a few alterations in our plan. My companions soon procured from a neighbouring shop an abundant supply of rain-coats and water-proof envelopes formed of thick oil-paper, or ample cloaks of straw-material giving the wearer the appearance of a mass of porcupine quills. I chose the shaking of a dry kagoo in preference to a wet ride on horseback, and a rough specimen of this vehicle with native bearers was speedily procured, in which I set out alone with an attendant Yakoneen on my return. We passed the Prince of Kanga's domain, and thence took a new route to the east of the city. Crossing over the "Bridge of Japan," and traversing the "commercial quarter" of Yeddo, we reached after three hours' toiling journey over deep mire and splashing mud the magnificent grounds and temple courts of the British Legation.

CHAP. XXVI.

PURVEYORS OF PUBLIC AMUSEMENT.

VAST NUMBERS OF IDLE POPULATION AMONG THE PRINCES AND THEIR RETAINERS. — WRESTLERS, PLAY-ACTORS, AND JUGGLERS. — MASQUERADES. — SPINNING TOPS. — ACROBATS. — A CELEBRATED JUGGLER'S EXHIBITION OF SKILL AT THE BRITISH LEGATION. — HIS VARIOUS FEATS. — THE BUTTERFLY SCENE.

A CITY containing above two millions of estimated population, four-fifths of whom consist of the retainers and dependents of the Tycoon and the Daimios of the empire, must be considered as a remarkable assemblage of human beings. Probably no other city in the world possesses so large a proportion of its inhabitants living in idleness and supported by the toil of other men. The great princes and their households —their thousands of guards, attendants, courtiers and secret agents with their families—and the varied retinue and pomp of a petty sovereign court within each palace domain—form an aggregate of population living on the productive industry of the rest of the nation, which it is marvellous to contemplate, and of which it is difficult to find elsewhere an example. If idleness brings with it its peculiar temptations, the people who dwell within the "official quarter" of Yeddo must be in no slight degree exposed to such moral dangers.

The public purveyors of amusement might naturally be expected to ply a lucrative vocation in such a locality. The Japanese are a race fond of sports and holidays; and the Daimios have the additional inducement of time hanging heavily on their hands. Wrestlers, play-actors and jugglers are consequently in great demand in the capital; and those who excel in these arts find a large sphere for their exercise. Masquerades and fancy costumes are a common spectacle in their pic-nic excursions. A Japanese householder of the middle class resembles a Parisian tradesman in his mode of keeping a public fête; and husband, wife and children may be seen making a joyous holiday trip in one united family group.

Spinning tops is a feat of sleight of hand in which the Japanese excel. In their shops great varieties of these toys are to be procured. In some kinds what appears an ordinary humming-top on being spun suddenly throws out a little family of smaller tops all spinning around the mother-top. The wonderful exhibitions of skill which I have seen described of a Japanese spinning a top which was made to run up the edge of a sword-blade and then retire along the same thin line of surface, are simply impossible and inexplicable on any principle of mere sleight of hand or manual dexterity. I am inclined to refer such feats to the secret apparatus of a thin hair guiding the top over a concealed groove on the edge of the sword. I noticed one kind of spinning-top which illustrated this mode of explanation. On receiving from the hand by means of a coil of cord its rotatory

motion, it slowly unwound a piece of hair and descended an inclined plane between a double edge forming a small channel or groove in which the point worked its way, until the end of the hair-line again wound itself around the top and brought it slowly back in its upward ascent to its original starting place.

A great source of diversion to the Japanese consists also in the feats of acrobats, which are sometimes to be witnessed in the courts of their temples, although they do not generally profane their sacred buildings with theatrical shows in the manner of the Chinese. A gentleman of my acquaintance was once present in the celebrated Temple of Kannon on the north of Yeddo during the celebration of some holiday festivities, when he observed an instance of the apparently diminished reverence felt by the common people towards the semi-divine personage, who reigns in the ecclesiastical capital. One of the actors came forth before the crowd of holiday-makers and performed a variety of acrobatic evolutions in the assumed sacred garb of the Mikado amid the loud plaudits and laughter of the populace, who seemed to be in no way shocked by the imagined profanity of the masquerade.

The performances of jugglers are however the grand entertainment which both among Daimios and people are an essential supplement to their jubilations. One such artist has enjoyed for some time a high reputation at Yeddo. He has had the honour of being admitted into the imperial presence, and is

frequently hired to attend at the palaces of the great Daimios to display his skill. During my stay at Yeddo, the British Minister invited his colleagues, the representatives of the Governments of France and the United States, with their suites and a small party of English visitors, to a luncheon at the British Legation, the interchange of hospitalities at each other's houses being impracticable during the evening in compliance with the regulations considered necessary for the safety of foreigners in the present state of Japanese political parties. Our host had engaged this celebrated Japanese to exhibit his arts before his European guests; and on our adjourning from our afternoon meal into the drawing-room we found the juggler had made some progress in preparing for the scenes. He was an aged man, about seventy years old, with bright keen eye and fine open forehead,—a noble specimen of his countrymen in physical form and intellectual expression. A screen was arranged at his back and a few panels of another folding screen were also placed a little way on each side. A red cloth was spread on the floor, with boxes and other apparatus scattered on his right and left. He was arrayed in the flowing vestments and wore the armorial devices of a Japanese nobleman, with the inner white silken dress of a Daimio. Taking his place in a central spot before the screen, and sitting on his heels, he made his low obeisance to the company and amid frequent sippings of warm tea and graceful motions of his light fan proceeded to deliver a short harangue. He deprecated strict criticisms of his art;

he was now an old man, seventy years of age; forty years ago in the full vigour of manhood he would have astonished us by his feats; but nôw he was unfitted by age and had passed his day of fame. However, remembering the distinguished company who had honoured him with their presence, he would attempt a few simple things and begged the favour of our attention.

Hereupon a strange series of episodes took place between the juggler and a clown, who challenged the other's skill and engaged in some spirited exchanges of humorous repartee, all designed to draw off the attention of the spectators. The buffoon rapidly drummed away on a wooden tom-tom, and was accompanied by an assistant, who produced two or three single prolonged notes from a Japanese flute. The greater part of the exhibition was in no way very wonderful, and was easily explained by the furtive introduction by sleight of hand of articles in the loose folds of the sleeve or by a quick movement in the direction of the side-screens. Empty basins of water suddenly display their dozens of lively eels; a quire of blank paper unexpectedly issues in the shape of bright pictures; gold-fish swimming in a glass vase are mysteriously transferred into an empty glass vessel on another portion of the floor; pieces of paper deposited in a box soon after come forth in an endless line of ribands, pictures of fierce warriors, and a living dove which escapes into the outer air. Pieces of paper saturated in water suddenly send forth a volume of flame and remain unscathed. Three

written papers are offered to a foreign spectator, who retiring to an adjoining room reserves two and secretes the remaining one in a carefully closed box. Three papers similarly inscribed are burnt in a flame; two are reduced to embers; the one corresponding to the piece of paper in the box is slightly charred but remains unconsumed.

Some of the feats possessed greater merit. A box was put together piece by piece, and firmly joined by rivets in the presence of the observers, who were requested to handle it and scrutinise its structure. The clown then proceeded to warn the spectators that the old man was a deceiver and a pretender, and that he himself had long discovered the secret of his tricks. An interlude occurred during which the juggler disproved every assertion of the clown by unbaring every portion of his dress or of the surrounding apparatus which was made the object of suspicion. The whole company however carefully watched the old man's motions and were not diverted from a strict scrutiny. At length he gave a tap of the fan causing the little box to resound; and then amid the loud applause of the beholders proceeded to unload the box of its contents, a process which occupied nearly five minutes. First comes forth a basin of food from which the buffoon and his assistant make their meal. Then there issue a score of clay images, then more of a larger size, in sufficient quantity to fill three boxes. Then dozens of yards of riband proceed from the interior of the box, succeeded by a large roll of paper which suddenly vanishes in the form of

a firework and ends in the display of an ordinary umbrella available for use.

During his occasional retirements between the acts the clown ventured to occupy the vacant seat of honour and to depreciate the artist's skill, professing to initiate the audience into the secrets of his trickery—until the return of the juggler himself discomposed him in his harangue and drove him humiliated and abashed to his own corner of the scene.

There was another feat which caused many conjectures among the foreigners present, and was decidedly the best part of his exhibition. A handsome lacquered despatch-box about eighteen inches in length was presented to our party, and we were invited to handle and examine its parts. He then challenged the company to secrete any article in the interior and pledged himself to write on a placard the name of the article without opening the box. We retired into a small adjoining room where no native was present, and while each was suggesting something to be deposited within, the French Minister seized the box and requested to be permitted to place something known only to himself within the cover. He took it aside and secretly placing some article from his pocket within, carefully closed the lid and kept his own secret. One of our party carried back the box and set it down on a little stand before the Japanese artist. Seated at the distance of only two or three yards we carefully watched the box, intent upon every

movement or gesture of the old man, and every latent quarter and direction in which any secret mechanism could be suspected to exist. The clown now commenced in his accustomed strain of buffoonery to warn him of his deception, and to predict that his pretentious assumptions were now about to receive a signal rebuff. Still every ear was closed to their interlude of repartee, and every eye was fixed on the movements of the chief operator. Some of us fancied that we perceived a tremulousness in the old man and a blush on his cheek as if in conscious disappointment at being overwatched and baffled in the execution of the trick. We were beginning almost to pity him on account of his failure. There was no possibility of collusion, as no native was present in the room and the French Minister carefully guarded his own secret even from a European eye and ear. At last the juggler commenced moistening a large slip of paper; and while our French fellow-guest was whispering in our ear that it was a pocket-pistol which he had placed in the box, an inscription was being fastened on a conspicuous part of the back of the screen intimating in Japanese characters that a "small fire-arm" was the article deposited within. The box was then opened by one of the foreigners present, and the identical pistol was taken thence and restored to its owner.

The celebrated butterfly scene closed his performance; and as a pure effort of manual dexterity

was an effective concluding piece, which drew forth loud and continued expressions of surprise and admiration. The screens were first adjusted, every current of air was carefully excluded and the amount of light was regulated. He then twisted some pieces of thin white paper into the shape of a butterfly, first forming the body and then fashioning the wings, until the proper size and weight were obtained. A single butterfly was then set in motion by fanning with his right hand, while the left-hand fan regulated the currents of wind and steered the artificial insect as it flitted from point to point. Hopping and fluttering aloft it pursued its irregular and easy flight at the will of the operator, skimming along the edge of the second fan or running over the outer margin of a basin, till at length it gently settled on a vessel of water. After a moment's rest, it gradually mounted upwards towards the ceiling in fitful wayward flight and returned again to its resting-place. Next a pair of butterflies flitted in company, dancing in playful gambols as they soared upwards to the ceiling or darted around the room; the Japanese performer all the while cautiously giving motive power to the paper insects with his right-hand fan and guiding the currents of air by the slanting position of the left-hand fan. At last, as a crowning effort of skill, he withdrew his left-hand fan, and with the remaining one kept the two butterflies fluttering in playful movement around two flowers and keeping in close company. The

illusion was perfect, and it was difficult at times to realise the fact of these lively creatures being mere artificial products visibly made in our presence. The latter portion of the feat appeared to call forth all the powers of the exhibitor, and to be a severe test of his physical strength. In deep and breathless silence, with rolling eyes and intensely fixed gaze, he followed with quick motion every slight deviation, preserving his graceful attitudes and concealing the severity of his exertion. The little insects at last settled permanently on a flower-leaf; a shower of small paper fragments were let loose and under the management of his fan assumed the appearance of a flock of butterflies suddenly making an irruption into the room; and the old man bowed his exit amid the prolonged plaudits of both foreign and native spectators.

Two or three Chinese present were the only dissentients, and whispered to me that with the exception of the closing scene it was nothing so very wonderful, and that Chinese jugglers in their own country in great numbers could easily surpass this prince of Japanese jugglers.

The old man left his assistants to pack up his apparatus and accompanied one of the *attachés* of the Legation into a side-room to receive his customary fee of ten dollars and the offer of a glass of wine. Two glasses of port were placed on a waiter for himself and his partner who acted as buffoon. He speedily quaffed both glasses with apparent zest, and

when apprised of his mistake in appropriating the wine which fell to his partner's share, he immediately apologised for the error, and turning to the buffoon offered with jocose impudence, if he would only express a wish to that effect, to conjure the glass of wine which he had drunk by mistake into the stomach of the other man for whom it was intended.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE JAPANESE WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

MR. RUTHERFORD ALCOCK'S GRAMMAR OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE.—CHINESE SYSTEM OF IDEOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS.—TWO INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF JAPANESE PHONETIC SYLLABARIUM.—HIRAGANA CHARACTER.—KATAGANA CHARACTER.—KAISHO STYLE OF WRITING CHINESE SYMBOLS.—GIOSHO.—LOSHO.—KOYÉ MODE OF READING CHINESE.—KUNG.—TOTAL DISSIMILARITY OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE SPOKEN LANGUAGES.

For the materials of the following slight notice of the Japanese language I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rutherford Alcock, who lent me the MS. of the introductory chapter to his work on the Japanese grammar, which was subsequently read before the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghae, and will (it is hoped) soon be given to the public in an independent and more permanent form. Rèv. S. W. Brown at Kanagawa also afforded me valuable assistance in this and many other interesting subjects of investigation. Occasionally I had to exercise my own judgment in arriving at a decision between slight discrepancies in the opinions and views of these two highly competent authorities on the minor details respecting the language and literature of Japan.

The written language of Japan (to which my remarks will be principally limited) is of a twofold

description. There are (1) the *ideographic* system of Chinese hieroglyphic symbols introduced into Japan in the third century of the Christian era; and (2) the more recently invented *phonetic* syllabarium or alphabet of forty-seven characters and a few supplementary modifying signs representing and conveying monosyllabic *sounds* only.

Antecedently to these two main divisions of writing now existing in the country, there appears to have been some antique form of writing now fallen into desuetude and oblivion. Some European scholars even assert that its nature and form have been entirely lost; but I met a Japanese teacher who maintained that he had not only seen a few antique books written in this old obsolete character, but even had in his own possession a book in that style. He stated that no modern Japanese could decipher the writing except after special instruction. It appears to have shared the fate of Anglo-Saxon writing in Great Britain, and to be remembered only among the learned antiquaries in Japan.

It is a circumstance not a little remarkable that a country like Japan enjoying at that early period no small amount of the advantages of civilisation, should have borrowed spontaneously and without the compulsory pressure of a conquering race not only the written symbols of the Chinese character, but also the whole circle of Chinese Confucian literature and at a more recent period the whole of the Chinese national authorised Lexicon of the Emperor Kanghe, with all the elaborateness, difficulty and almost infinite variety

of this newly-imported written language of her continental Asiatic neighbour. At the present time the Chinese classics have supplanted every pre-existing mode of writing and national type of thought, as the foundation of their literature and the basis of their system of ethics. The conscious inferiority implied in this transplantation of the literary system of the Chinese, evidences a modesty of self-appreciation which is a hopeful element in the national character. Their frank recognition of the superiority of their neighbours implies no inconsiderable amount of mental and moral culture, and presents in this respect a favourable contrast to the overweening pride and contempt of other nations prevalent among the Chinese themselves.

The adoption of the Chinese system of ideographic symbols in the third century of our era effected no change in the spoken language of Japan. They formed a mere collection of images addressed to the eye, and the idea conveyed by the pictorial sign was simply translated into the corresponding word of the Japanese language. This was a complicated, involved and inconvenient method, when judged by the standard of European usage.

Five hundred years after the introduction of the Chinese written *symbols*, a most important step was taken in advance and in comparative approximation to European principles of written language. Under the guidance of Kobodaisi, a Japanese priest of the Shin-gnon-keo sect of Budhists, and according to Rodriguez about the year A.D. 810, the Japanese appear

to have invented without foreign aid a *phonetic* system of writing—an alphabet of syllables—adapted to their own spoken language, and comprising forty-seven or, if the nasal *ng* be included, forty-eight characters—now in common use throughout Japan and generally known as the *Hiragana* form of character. The advantages of this system were very great, enabling a writer to commit to a permanent form the spoken sounds in the ordinary pronunciation and on the commonest topics of daily life. But even this important invention was stripped of much of its simplicity and value by the apparently gradual introduction of variations in the newly-formed Japanese syllabarium, extending in some instances to eight or nine different modes of writing the same character. The most simple form of each character bears a strong resemblance to and was probably fashioned by its inventor on the model of the cursive form of the Chinese written symbols. The number of these *variants* (as they are commonly called by foreign students) is at first almost unaccountable on any generally accepted principles of convenience or facility. They probably arose from a desire in Japanese calligraphists to improve on the original type of written character in the several directions of greater elegance, simplicity and flowing cursiveness of form when connected with other letters in a rapid style of penmanship. These variations in the forty-seven characters of the Japanese syllabarium have greatly increased the difficulty of the language to a European student, and render it the most complex of phonetic systems of writing.

It was probably this early experience of complexity in the Hiragana character which soon led to the introduction of another alphabetic system of a more simple structure and entirely destitute of variants, known as the *Katagana* character. This form of writing is usually ascribed to a literary sage called Kibīko who flourished in the same century as the learned monk Kobodaisi, the inventor of the Hiragana character. Some native authors even refer both systems of writing to this same learned priest. The introduction of the Katagana bears the internal evidence of being last in point of time, and a return towards greater simplicity of structure. It is alleged to have been adopted in order to render the acquisition of the art of reading more easy for women and children. The principal reason was doubtless the recommendation of its being more convenient and simple for cutting letters on blocks of wood for printing, and capable of more exact precision in spelling the words of proper names and the transference of foreign sounds. It was also derived from the model of the ordinary square form of Chinese character, which may be conceived to be one cause of its greater simplicity and uniform invariability. Both these systems of the Japanese phonetic character are written in perpendicular columns like the Chinese symbolical character.

If on an abstract view of these two modes of Japanese writing—viz. the Chinese *ideographic* symbols, and the Japanese indigenous *phonetic* syllabarium whether of the more complex Hiragana or of the

more simple Katagana variety—a European philologist had been called to pronounce an opinion as to the comparative merits of the two systems and the prospect of one ultimately supplanting the other in the universal usage of the country, he would have unhesitatingly predicted the certainty of the cumbrous and complicated system of Chinese ideography falling into disuse, and of the European alphabetic principle of the Japanese syllabarium finally gaining undisputed possession of the whole literature of the country. Strange as it may appear, the contrary result is a nearer approximation to the actual state of things. The Chinese symbolical character, so far from being superseded, still retains its ascendency as the almost universal medium in the acts of diplomacy, official documents, and the greater number of works published on history, literature, and science. Its greater capability of precision, brevity of expression, and prestige of antique usage as the language employed by their great masters in philosophy and literary taste, have doubtless combined in causing its retention and undiminished prevalence throughout the land.

And yet it would perhaps be a somewhat inaccurate statement to assert that Chinese books, as ordinarily written and printed in China, are capable of being read by all classes of readers in Japan. Mr. Alcock has in the admirable preface to his grammar given expression to a very decided opinion that, although the Japanese have adopted the whole Chinese collection of characters, and learned to attach to each the ideas belonging to them in China, they have

altered and adapted the construction of sentences to the genius of the Japanese language to the extent of rendering Chinese writing almost a different language in Japan. In short, he is of opinion that the reading of a Chinese book printed in China is the result of special study and an accomplishment acquired only by the more learned of the Japanese; and that no Chinese can read a book written by a Japanese in the Chinese character, and similarly no Japanese can read a Chinese book written by a native of China, so as to get a full understanding of the subject. The transpositions, employment of expletives, and inversions of style in the two languages form the ground of this difficulty, and render the employment of critical marks and annotations in the Katagana or Hiragana characters a necessary addition to Chinese works of purely Chinese authorship.

Mr. Brown appears to incline to the view that this difficulty has been overrated, and that Chinese books imported from China are easily intelligible to Japanese readers. Although editions of the Chinese classics generally have the addition of some Katagana characters interspersed in the margin to note a word which has to be transposed or an expletive which has no counterpart in Japanese, he has also seen copies of the Chinese classics published at Yeddo entirely destitute of these helps and apparently in general use among the people. Probably the real truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. At all events some caution is to be observed in making the assertion that books composed in the Chinese language are every-

where and by every man understood in Japan. And yet the avidity with which Chinese books containing treatises on European science and history are sought by ordinary Japanese readers, lends some plausibility to the statement that even in Japan the Chinese ideographic system of writing is the common literary medium generally understood. There are also reasonable grounds of hope that when in the providence of the Almighty a door of entrance may be thrown more widely open to the pioneers of Christianity in this land, the Holy Scriptures in Chinese will perform no inconsiderable part as the means of diffusing a knowledge of our holy religion among the reading classes of the empire.

There are various modes of writing and reading the Chinese character among the Japanese; and these tend to embarrass a European student, and may possibly lie at the real bottom of those diversities of opinion which, at this early stage of our intercourse with the Japanese, exist respecting the extent to which Chinese books are intelligible to the common class of Japanese readers. In writing there are the *Kaisho* style, the ordinary square Chinese character, commonly used only in poetry and printed books; the *Giosho*, a more free style employed in official letters and despatches, and sometimes containing intermingled phonetic words of the Hiragana or Katagana character; and the *Losho*, employed in familiar correspondence between equals, and resembling the more irregularly flowing freedom of the cursive character employed in China. As if still more to accumu-

late perplexities and baffle beginners, a further practice prevails of reading a Chinese sentence by pronouncing some characters on a phonetic principle and others according to the idea conveyed. The explanation of this difference is so full of difficulty without entering into tedious details that it will suffice to state in illustration of this point that there are two modes of reading Chinese: the one according to the sound which they call Koyé, originally imitated more or less closely from the sound which each individual character bore in China, but in process of time considerably altered by gradual divergence of sound down to the present time; and the other named *Kung*, in which the meaning is expressed and the reader gives a correct translation of each Chinese character into the corresponding Japanese word. For instance,—the *Chinese* pronunciation of the character for the numeral "*ten*" is *shih;* in the Koyé mode of Japanese reading it is slightly changed to *jew;* but in the Kung mode of reading it is rendered into the Japanese word of corresponding meaning, *to.* Similarly the Chinese *teen* ("heaven") becomes in the Koyé *ten*, and in the Kung *ama.* Whenever I requested a Japanese teacher to read the Chinese "Four Books" in the Koyé so as to give the slightly changed Chinese sounds, he generally showed great difficulty in keeping to the Koyé, and continually broke off to the Kung method of pronunciation, in fact translating each word of the sentence, as he read, into the colloquial form of Japanese, assisted by a few Katagana notes in the margin of the book.

As a general summary of these remarks, it may be stated that the missionaries and the gentlemen attached to the foreign legations and consulates represent the spoken language as not very difficult of acquisition to a foreigner of ordinary diligence and linguistic talent. It is free from the Chinese system of intonations which give to the colloquial languages of that people their peculiarity and chief difficulty. The varieties of pronunciation which are likely to be discovered in each province, are of no great extent and may be expected to produce no very wide divergence, so as to create separate vernacular dialects, which form another of the difficulties in learning the Chinese spoken language. The inflexions are not numerous nor difficult. The nouns are without declension, the number and case being determined by the addition of suffixed words or being reflected from the governing member of a sentence. The verbs have but one word for all the persons and both numbers in each tense of the different moods. There are no definite nor indefinite articles. Although the acquisition of the Chinese form of writing in Japanese is an almost superhuman task, more difficult than learning the original Chinese character on account of the prevalence among the Japanese of its freest form of cursive symbols,—a mode of Chinese writing scarcely mastered by one single living European or American sinologue in China,—the study of the Hiragana and Katagana forms of Japanese phonetic character is within the limits of acquisition with moderate expenditure of time and attention. When fully attained, these two

indigenous methods of Japanese writing open to a foreign student the ordinary compositions of the country in matters of daily life, the transactions of commercial persons, and the correspondence of the less educated classes, with a considerable amount of popular literature, and not a few historical and scientific works adapted to common readers. The fact however still remains that for a European student, and above all for a Christian missionary, desirous of a full insight into the native character and customs, and aiming at the acquirement of every means for obtaining a moral ascendency over this interesting race now brought into nearer contact with the influences of Christendom, the knowledge of the Chinese written language—at least in its simpler forms of structure—confers a great advantage and becomes almost a necessity. Chinese terms are to the Japanese language what Greek and Latin words are to modern English—the roots of all scientific terms and the basis of all technical phraseology. A foreign scholar unacquainted with Chinese will labour under the disadvantage of being limited in the range of his Japanese vocabulary, and can never be expected to rank as a literary man in native estimate. The highest order of human industry is however inadequate to the accomplishment of every department of knowledge abstractedly desirable in itself. By a subdivision of labour and a prudent regard to the individual tastes and talents of each labourer, it will probably be found expedient that one member in each mission should direct a special amount of study to the acquisition of

the various systems of writing prevalent among the Japanese, and others devote their time to a speedy attainment of the colloquial language by which they may hope at a comparatively early period after their arrival to hold oral intercourse with the various classes of Japanese population.

Not the slightest similarity exists between the spoken languages of the Japanese and the Chinese. Their physiognomy and their speech alike prove them to belong to widely-differing branches of the human family.

CHAP. XXVIII.

LOCAL OBJECTS OF PUBLIC INTEREST AT YEDDO.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR YOUTH. — CONFUCIAN TEXT-BOOKS. — ACADEMIES. — TERAKOYA. — MILITARY AND NAVAL SCHOOLS OF EXERCISE. — MEDICAL SCHOOLS. — SYSTEM OF DIPLOMAS. — NOSOLOGY. — DISSECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS. — JAPANESE IMPROVEMENT IN ARTS AND SCIENCES. — GOLD-MINES. — TEMPTATIONS TO FOREIGNERS. — BREACH OF CUSTOM REGULATIONS. — SMUGGLING. — VENAL CONNIVANCE OF NATIVE OFFICIALS AT YOKUHAMA. — SPECIAL DANGERS CREATED BY UNPRINCIPLED FOREIGNERS.

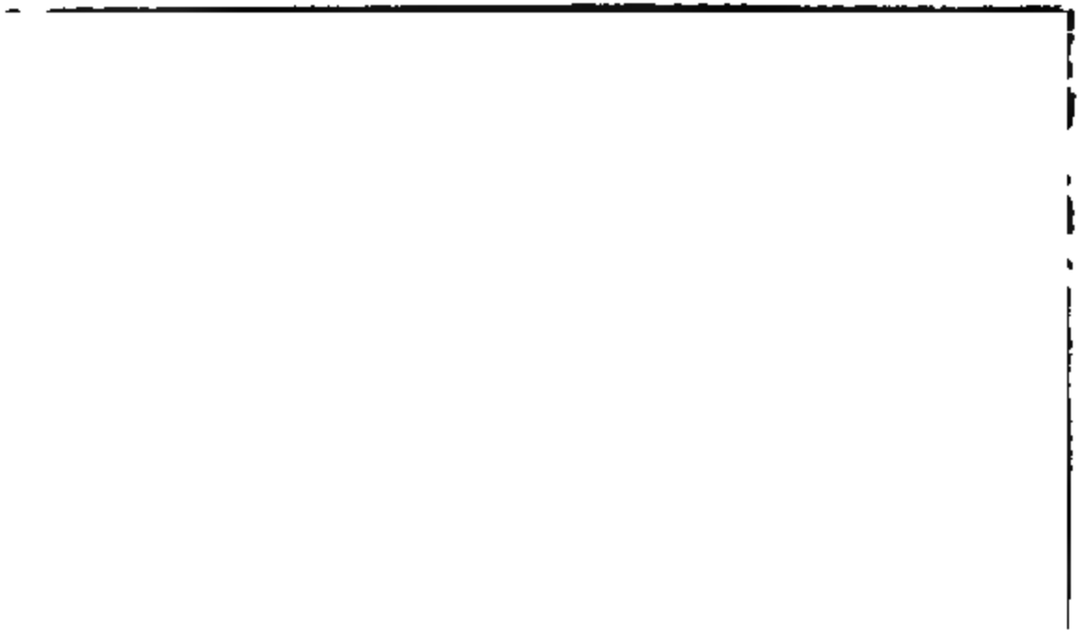
THE absence of the Chinese system of competitive examinations for promotion to political offices removes one great inducement, which prevails in China, for parents to send their children to school in Japan. The Japanese Government also use no compulsion in rendering the education of their children imperative and obligatory on the heads of families. And yet apart from and without these two motives, we find the Japanese voluntarily affording their children the benefit of education and incurring the expense of sending them to school. There are both primary and secondary schools in every part of the country. In the former, young boys and girls are mixed together at an early age, and receive a common course of elementary instruction. In the more advanced or secondary schools only boys receive their education, and the master is supported by the payments of the pupils,

varying from half an itzebu to five itzebus a month. In some cases the poorest class of people are able to afford the payment of only two copper ten-po or one-eighth of an itzebu a month, *i. e.* a monthly fee of about twopence. The ordinary text-books of Chinese schools are used in Japan, and the classics of Confucius and Mencius are the universal basis of their education. The pupils are said to spend a less portion of their time in committing passages to memory than in China, and to attain at a much earlier period the power of writing and composing in their own indigenous systems of phonetic character. The system of private tuition prevails very generally in the houses of the Daimios and officials of high rank. Academies of a superior class, named *Terakoya*, are held in the halls of the gentry, at the houses of merchants, or within the precincts of the temples, in which penmanship, composition, and arithmetic on the principles of the Chinese swan-pan or abacus, are taught by a higher class of tutors. In the female schools Japanese girls study among other accomplishments music and dancing, and learn to play on the guitar, the flute, the harp and the tambourine. They have a native harp of thirteen strings played with the finger, and a four-stringed violin with a bow made of horsehair.

There is at Yeddo an astronomical school to which the sons of the Daimios repair for instruction. There are also places in which instruction in the military art is imparted; and Japanese youths are practised in fencing and sword-exercise. An imperial navy-yard exists on the left bank of the river which flows into

the bay on the east of the city, in which several small Japanese war-vessels are laid up in ordinary. The head of this department is called Mukai-shiongen—a kind of naval first lord—whose official mark and seal must be affixed to every vessel whether belonging to the government or to private individuals, before she is authorised to go to sea or to be employed in conveying cargoes. This strict system of registration, together with the regulated smallness of size to which each vessel has in recent times been limited, is an effectual preventive of Japanese vessels venturing far from the coast or making a voyage to foreign countries. All the sailors of the imperial navy are subject to the jurisdiction of this officer. As few war-vessels are ever in commission, their chief daily exercise in seamanship is the practice of swimming, which they are regularly taught under special instructors in the river at Yeddo. My native informant stated that they attained such proficiency in the art of swimming, that he had seen them treading the water in the deepest parts, and at the same time holding pen, ink, and paper above their heads and actually writing in that position.

The most interesting part of their public system of instruction is to be seen in the medical schools which are dispersed over the country. It is difficult for a European resident limited to a sea-port to arrive at a trustworthy estimate of the real scientific character of these institutions. A Japanese physician of my acquaintance at Kanagawa, the teacher of my friend Mr. Brown, gave us a good deal of information re-



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JAPANESE HOUSES ON A CREEK IN YEDDO HARBOUR.

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specting them and the general character of medical science in Japan. He stated that nosology and Materia Medica were regular branches of professional study; that there were 404 recognised kinds of disease; that their medicines were of almost indefinite number and received continual accessions from new empirical discoveries and importations; that phlebotomy and cupping were commonly practised by surgeons; that there was a regular system of medical apprenticeships extending over a term of five years' instruction; and that after that period a diploma or permission to practise the physician's art was granted to competent students by regular authority. He asserted that during their medical education they received human subjects for anatomical dissection, and that the government was accustomed to hand over the bodies of executed criminals to the medical schools for this purpose. He professed himself to have witnessed the dissection of three subjects, and stated that each portion of the body was minutely analysed and examined with the aid of a microscope. It is uncertain how long this system has prevailed. It is probable that the influence of the Dutch physicians at Desima may have led to the introduction of anatomical dissections and the general improvement of surgical science among a race peculiarly imitative and disposed to profit by observation of foreigners.

Our medical friend mentioned a fact of accepted popular belief, which, though manifestly savouring of the superstitious, may be supposed to exert no injurious influence over the minds of his fellow-

practitioners of the medical profession. He stated with great seriousness that if any physician wilfully poisoned a patient, he was invariably seized with a species of judicial dementia, which impelled him to disclose his guilt and to bring himself to capital punishment. He persisted, in spite of our hesitation to assent to the credibility of this fact, in declaring that it was an invariable result and that there was no Japanese who had not a full belief in this self-inflicted retribution.

The marvellous effects of the celebrated *Dosia* powder, which for many ages has proved a source of immense wealth to a family in some sequestered mountain-retreat long supposed to possess the exclusive secret of its composition, and which for a thousand years has caused divine honours to be paid to Kobodaisi its learned discoverer, prove that not long since the Japanese were but little advanced in medical science, and that a national hoax has continued to exert its power over the whole population.

The number of persons to be commonly met with, who are deeply pitted with small-pox, proves that vaccination cannot have penetrated far beyond the limits of the Dutch medical school in the vicinity of Desima. Vaccination would have been a great boon to the Japanese Emperor Yeyesige a century ago. Anxious to preserve his two sons from this dreaded malady, he ordered one of his princes to send for some carp-fish caught below the cascade of Roumonno-taki, in order that their bodies might every year be washed in

water mixed with the ashes of these burnt carp. Popular superstition regards this measure as a sure prophylactic in mitigating the severity of small-pox.

There are satisfactory indications that the Japanese have entered on the path of improvement, and that medical science is likely to reap the full benefits of their conscious inferiority and willingness to learn from foreign physicians. They are likely also to borrow at no distant period Western improvements in military art and weapons of self-defence. Already percussion-muskets are frequently to be seen in their guardhouses. Fire-arms were first made in the province of Satsuma a short time before the war with Corea A.D. 1592; and were doubtless derived from foreigners. The report of small guns and musketry is frequently audible in the vicinity of their military stations, and leads to the supposition that the practising of firing at a target is a regular part of their military drill. I once saw some soldiers exercising at sword-practice by means of long wooden foils, which they wield with both hands and deal the blows according to some authorised principles of attack and defence. Their sharp-edged two-handed swords are a terrible weapon of offence against an unarmed multitude; but being unprovided with a guard at the hilt and incapable of being brought back quickly to a posture of self-defence, they would be likely to prove an ineffective weapon against the disciplined troops of Western powers. In their armourers' shops coats of mail are exposed for sale, formed of a series

of laminated wooden plates highly polished with lacquer-varnish, and adding an inconvenient amount of weight to the accoutrements of the wearer.

The weights and measures employed in the ordinary business of trade are under the strict supervision of the government; and severe penalties impend over any persons using such as have not been impressed with the stamp of an officer specially appointed for the purpose at Yeddo.

The abundance of their precious metals is likely to prove hereafter no inconsiderable item in foreign commerce. Sado-sima, an island and principality on the west coast of Niphon, is reported to be the richest of all the principalities in the produce of gold and silver. It is also a place of banishment for criminals, who are employed in working at the mines. There are some small volcanic islands at the entrance of the Bay of Yeddo, similarly used as penal settlements at which malefactors are condemned to mining labour. Kinkwa-san, a small island on the east coast, is also (as its name indicates, "gold-flower mountain") famed for its gold-mines. The most celebrated region in the empire for precious metals is that of Nambu situated in the province of Matsmai on the northern side of the Straits of Tsugar, which divide the islands of Niphon and Yesso. Meno, from which the best rice is procured and which has the honour of supplying the imperial table, is also known to produce gold. A temporary scarcity of this metal has been caused, partly by the exhaustion of some mines and partly by an

imperial edict prohibiting for some unknown reasons of state policy the working of the principal gold-mines in the province of Matsmai. Some of the Japanese state that this prohibition originated in superstitious fears aroused at the supposed displeasure of the gods as manifested in the recent outbreak of a pestilential sickness among the miners. It is reported that a new gold-field has been lately discovered in the province of Shinano, which adjoins Meno on the east. A more probable reason for the interference of the Imperial Government in the production of gold is to be seen in the displeasure excited by the avidity with which foreigners, on the first opening of the Japanese ports, bought up the gold coins for export and awakened the jealous fears of the native government, doubtless mindful of the immense profits of the Portuguese traders in former times from the export of their precious metals, and apprehensive of a scarcity of gold in the country. The oblong flat thin piece of gold coin, called a kobang, previous to the opening of foreign trade, was worth only four or five silver itzebus, and is now valued at thirteen itzebus, the relative price of gold to silver having thus been tripled. An express article in the treaties prohibits the export of *copper* coins. And yet the British Consul while standing on the beach at Yokuhama, saw a cask, ostensibly of oil in course of shipment on board a foreign vessel, suddenly burst from the excessive weight in the interior. Through the end a large heap of copper coins issued and lay confusedly

scattered over the ground. He remonstrated to no purpose with a Japanese custom-house official standing near, and afterwards with the governor himself, on their evident venal connivance at the fraud. He told the latter that he was well aware of the particular individuals involved in this corrupt transaction. The Japanese defended himself by asserting that any sum of money which he had received from the party mentioned, was only a return present for some gift of his own. The fact is notorious that the Japanese officials each have their price; and the flagitious corruption which has necessitated at the Chinese consular ports the system of foreign inspectorships of customs as a protection to the honest trader, is likely to be reproduced in Japan. Thus, in addition to the scandal and injury caused to the character of foreigners, this reckless dishonesty on the part of individual European and American traders will probably reduce the aggregate receipts of the Japanese custom-house and withdraw one of the most likely inducements, in the shape of an increasing revenue, which might have reconciled the native government to an extension of foreign trade. Not only are the fundamental laws of Japan violated by the export of the prohibited coin, but the legitimate revenue of the customs is diminished. The following fact stated by the American Consul-General Mr. Harris appears to be incapable of satisfactory explanation and is suggestive of considerable apprehension respecting the present tendencies and future character of our

commercial relations towards Japan. From the commencement of August 1859 to the 1st of January 1860, the export of raw silk from Yokuhama, as reported in the commercial statistics, prices current, and circulars at Shanghae, exceeded 3000 bales. During the same period the export duty on silk paid through the local custom-house at Yokuhama to the Japanese Government, was only officially returned as between 500 and 600 bales. It is only due to truth that it should be stated that a respectable American merchant at Yokuhama disputes the accuracy of these statistics and declares that he can show custom-house receipts of export duty for his own shipments of silk during the same period exceeding this aggregate in the official return. I believe however that nothing exists to shake the general accuracy of the statement that the exports of Japanese produce greatly exceed the amount for which the custom-house duties are paid, and that some of the mercantile representatives of Christian nations are pursuing the selfish, suicidal and wicked course of corrupting by bribes the official agents of the Japanese Government.

England is tired of her Eastern wars. The public sentiment of our Christian country is aroused to a sense of the reciprocity of the duties and obligations subsisting between European powers and the various nations of the Eastern world. A collision with Japan would be a terrible result, shutting up almost hopelessly the partially opened door of admission, and driving back within the

fortified entrenchments of her exclusiveness and isolation one of the most promising and energetic nations of mankind. A more vital and operative Christianity is the powerful link which can alone bind the subjects and citizens of the Eastern and Western worlds in one common fraternity of friendship, good-will and peace.

CHAP. XXIX.

DEPARTURE FROM YEDDO.

RETURN FROM YEDDO TO KANAGAWA. — SUNDAY SERVICE AMONG EUROPEANS AT YOKUHAMA. — OPPRESSIVE TREATMENT OF NATIVES CONNECTED WITH FOREIGNERS. — APPEARANCES OF A CORDON DRAWN AROUND YOKUHAMA. — BUDHIST COLLEGE FOR TRAINING PRIESTS. — JAPANESE AGRICULTURE. — PECULIAR MODE OF BURNING OFF THE EARS OF RIPE CORN. — PERIODICAL SEED-TIMES AND HARVESTINGS OF VARIOUS CROPS. — INTEMPERANCE. — TOTAL ABSTINENCE VOW TO THE GOD KOMPIRA. — NO SLAVE CASTE. — STRICT REGISTRATION. — GOOD CONDUCT IN RECENT CASES OF FOREIGN WRECKS. — EDICT OF DEPORTATION AGAINST CHINESE AT YOKUHAMA. — LOCAL TRADE. — VISIT FROM LOCAL GOVERNOR. — SUMMARY VIEW OF MISSIONARY OPENINGS.

I LEFT the city of Yeddo on Saturday June 2nd, and quitted with regret scenes of novel interest, which have made a lasting and indelible impression on my mind. I deem it an honourable privilege to have officiated among my own countrymen at a religious service held on the only Sunday of my stay in this remote stronghold of paganism on the furthest confines of Christendom. The British Envoy-Extraordinary, the American Consul-General, their *attachés* and interpreters, and two English visitors, formed our little congregation at the British Legation.

The hospitable kindness of Mr. Alcock and the

courteous attentions of the various other members of the Legation, demand a special mention and grateful acknowledgment in the narrative of my visit to the Japanese capital. Exposed to most of the inconveniences and trials of isolation in a foreign country, and sometimes harassed by a sense of insecurity, the gentlemen who at the present time are connected with the British Legation at Yeddo, deserve the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and merit the favourable notice of the British Government.

Other emotions also were excited by the incidents of my visit; and if during the course of my various descriptions of native manners and customs I have not generally deemed it right to obtrude upon the reader my own private feelings in the view of this remarkable but spiritually unenlightened race so long, in the mysterious providence of the Almighty, shut out from the blessings of the Gospel, I must not on that account be regarded as insensible to the affecting and sometimes wellnigh overpowering considerations which such a spectacle could not fail often to awaken in a Christian mind.

My return to Kanagawa involved a journey of six hours in a norimon with a party of Yakoneens in attendance. I made the return trip unaccompanied by any European, over the same route as that by which I came to Yeddo. I was soon lodged in the family of Mr. and Mrs. Brown, with whom I spent another fortnight in the pleasant intercourse of Christian friendship, and in the enjoyment of daily opportunities of valuable insight into the character and customs of the native population.

On the day after my return I crossed over the bay in a boat to Yokuhama, where I conducted by appointment a public Sunday service in the only large and convenient room available for the occasion, which was kindly placed at my disposal by the Dutch proprietor of the hotel. In the spacious dining-room thirty-three Europeans and Americans assembled at the first public religious service celebrated at that port. Among that mixed and somewhat heterogeneous assemblage of men of various pursuits and occupations in life, I believe that there were a few individuals sincerely desirous of fulfilling the highest obligations of the Christian character, and making the acquisition of wealth secondary to the endeavour of winning a heavenly prize. Placed in the midst of surrounding temptations and "dwelling where Satan's seat is"—may their little number be continually increased, and may they have grace to "let their light shine before men."

In the Budhist monastery which formed our lodging at Kanagawa, I administered the Christian rite of baptism, according to the office of the liturgy of the Church of England, to the infant daughter of a Scottish mercantile gentleman, the first child of pure European parentage born in Japan.

On my arrival at Kanagawa I found that during my absence the missionaries had experienced much trouble and anxiety through a sudden visit of Japanese officers for the purpose of arresting three obnoxious natives in their employment. No crime or offence was alleged against them. They

were held in confinement at a neighbouring guard-house, and afterwards removed beyond the possibility of any consular remonstrance proving of avail on their behalf. The Japanese teachers, to which class two out of the three captives belonged, were seized with great alarm; and my host's native teacher, to whom I was indebted for many valuable communications of information, betook himself to the menial duties of sweeping the floor and dusting the table of my friend's study, as a means of escaping observation by assuming the functions of a servant. The wife of one of the aggrieved parties came down from Yeddo in great distress; and our temple court was the scene of their bitter complaints against the native officials. This is one of the most unsatisfactory indications which I witnessed, of the disposition of the Japanese authorities to invalidate the provisions of the treaties by a system of espionage on the proceedings of foreigners, and a series of vindictive injuries perpetrated on individual natives connected with the missionaries. The people evince the utmost friendliness, though in these parts of Japan their friendly demeanour is sometimes mingled with symptoms of uneasiness lest their advances should be observed by spies. The daughter of my friend Mr. Brown was returning from a ride, when an old Japanese countrywoman issuing from her dwelling hastily placed three eggs in her hand as a present, and then quickly retired as if fearing lest the kind action might be seen. In the neighbourhood of Yokuhama the same signs of official surveillance were

everywhere witnessed in the numbers of sentries, guards and watch-houses placed at each convenient outpost, and the general appearance of a line of separation being about to be established by means of canals, bridges and barriers around the newly-established foreign settlement.

Nothing could be more satisfactory or calculated to inspire confidence than the demeanour of the general population. In our rides the same friendly welcome from the peasantry everywhere awaited us. On one occasion we visited at two miles' distance a fine collection of temples forming a Budhist college of the Hokki sect, and used as a training institution for preparing native youths for the priesthood. Twenty-two priests, five tutors, and a hundred pupils in preparation for the priestly profession, were lodged in a series of neat dwellings lining either side of a wide pathway some little distance within the temple precincts. Some of them attended us as we strolled through the grounds, which were beautifully planted with coppices and were almost buried in thick foliage of the richest green. Some of the junior students were engaged in sweeping the paths; and all of them made a low obeisance on meeting an adult priest. Their appearance seemed to show that they belonged to the middle class of society, and formed a marked contrast to the pauper-like squalid aspect of a Chinese Bonze.

The farming people willingly abandoned their work and afforded us every information on the processes of Japanese agriculture. Both here and in the

suburban parts of Yeddo I took a few opportunities of strolling into the fields of ripening corn, and marking the peculiarities of their husbandry. The wheat was then in ear, and the stalks had already attained the height of six feet. It is drilled in rows of from eighteen to twenty inches apart. To prevent the corn being laid by rain and wind in the strong black loamy soil, about twenty or thirty ears of wheat were tied together by a band at the top, so as to resemble a number of growing sheaves. The labourers were engaged in putting into the ground cabbages, brinjals or egg-plants, and other vegetables as a second crop between the rows of ripening corn. In one field close to Kanagawa I observed a peculiar method of gathering in the ripe crop. A farming labourer was engaged in carrying sheaves of newly-mown barley to a central spot in the field where a large canvas sheet was spread on the ground. A little fire of smouldering embers lay near, from which he lighted a sheaf near the ear; and then as the crackling flame charred and partially consumed the straw, he rolled the sheaf from side to side until one by one the heads of barley had all dropped from the stalk into the sheet. Each blazing sheaf was rolled in this manner over the canvas floor until a large heap of barley-ears was gathered to be carried off, pounded, hulled and cleaned at their own homes. The straw was thrown away into a series of burning heaps, and the ashes afterwards served as manure for the soil, the feeding of cattle being rare in the country, and this circumstance rendering the straw

of no further use for a farmyard. A crop of wheat was undergoing the same process in an adjoining field.

I had seen the desire expressed in one of the leading English quarterly periodicals to obtain some description of the Japanese succession of crops and system of agricultural science. Fresh from the perusal of the article in question, I passed with Mr. Brown into some fields near our dwelling, and a neighbouring Japanese farmer gave us many facts connected with the subject, which were afterwards supplemented with further details by our native friend, who, probably enjoying a limited medical practice among his countrymen, finds it a more lucrative occupation to fill the post of teacher of the language to a foreigner. We came to the conclusion that any rotation of crops which can answer to the English system of agriculture is unknown and unpractised in this district, and that the disposition of the land for convenience of irrigation necessary for a rice-crop excludes the possibility of the same field being used for any other crop requiring a drier condition of the soil. There appears to be no such thing as leaving the ground idle in fallow, except the rice-ground which after the crop is gathered in November, is left until May or June, when it is ploughed up and receives the seed for a new crop of the same grain. There is only one crop of rice in the same year gathered from the same ground, although there are two seasons, the earlier and the later, for sowing and gathering the rice. The following are the principal data of infor-

mation which I was able to procure. It is to be remembered that the months are reckoned according to the Chinese style, the first month or new year commencing with the new moon which generally falls between the latter part of January and the middle of February. In the latitude of Kanagawa, which is 35° North, wheat and barley are sown in the beginning of the eleventh and harvested in the fifth month. Of buckwheat there are two crops: the former is sown in the third, and harvested in the sixth month; the latter is sown in the sixth and harvested in the latter part of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth month. Rice is sown in close nursery-beds in the fourth and transplanted into the fields in the fifth month. The early kinds of rice are gathered in the seventh and the later kinds in the ninth month. The later sort constitutes the largest amount of rice raised in the country. Rye is sown in the third and harvested in the eighth month. Maize or Indian corn is not much cultivated in these parts. Long-spiked millet is sown in the third or fourth and harvested in the eighth month. Rape seed is sown in the eleventh and gathered in the fourth month. White radishes (an article of large consumption), turnips, carrots, and parsnips are sown in the seventh and gathered in the tenth or eleventh month. The various kinds of pulse are sown in the third and gathered in the seventh month. Cotton is sown in the fourth and picked in the eighth month. Melons and cucumbers of various sorts are sown in the second and third months, and are gathered at different periods extend-

ing through the summer. This may prove a somewhat dry and uninteresting enumeration of details; but it may possibly furnish some of my readers with data enabling them to ground thereupon a general estimate of the soil, climate, temperature and general productive capabilities of Japan.

I am sorry to state that the result of my observations at Kanagawa on the whole tended to corroborate the unfavourable opinion respecting the intemperance prevailing among a large proportion of the Japanese, as seen at Nagasaki. The common people among the labouring class have frequently a flushed and excited appearance, which was described to me as produced by frequent potations of sakee. It is to be remembered however that this judgment of the native character is formed in relative contrast with the Chinese and other races of Asia. Intemperance among Europeans means something very different from the term when applied to Asiatics. The worst forms and the utmost extent of drunkenness among the Japanese come far short of the dreadful prevalence of this vice in the countries of the West. Compared with the Chinese, the Japanese are undoubtedly much addicted to intoxicating drinks. A servant in the family with whom I was here domiciled became so maddened by sakee one day during my stay, that two other Japanese were compelled to hold him during the paroxysms of his drunken frenzy and boisterous clamour. In a few hours he had partially regained his sobriety and appeared penitent for his fault; and his relatives came to our dwelling in

great grief, bending their foreheads to the ground in humble supplication for the retention of his situation.

The Japanese appear to have amongst them the occasional practice of a total abstinence vow to avoid the evils of intemperance. Of their million of gods (Kami) the most dreaded individual deity is *Kompira daingongngen*, who is generally worshipped throughout the islands of Kewsew and Sikok. The only shrine erected to his worship in the city of Yeddo is situated within the palace-domain of *Arimagemba no Kami*, a great Daimio from Kewsew. This deity is supposed to take special cognisance of vows, and to punish with the utmost severity persons guilty of a breach of them. It is customary for penitents who wish to reform their intemperate habits to make a vow to this god to abstain from intoxicating drinks for a given period of time. In token of their vow reclaimed drunkards are accustomed to cut off the top-knot of their hair, and to hang it as a votive offering at the idol-shrine. In the Tokaido or imperial highway leading to Yeddo such native top-knots are occasionally visible at the shrines on the wayside. This practice and its attendant superstition seem to argue the existence of drunkenness as no exceptional evil, but a widely-prevalent vice in these parts of Japan.

There appears to be no class of slaves in the country in the sense of living chattels or predial serfs attached to the soil and capable of being transferred by sale. The nearest resemblance to a servile caste

is to be found in the existence of bondsmen who from poverty or debt have sold themselves into a temporary period of apprenticeship. The ordinary rate of a farming labourer's wages is three ten-pos (or threepence) a day.

A strict system of registration prevails throughout the country. The inhabitants are registered with their respective names, ages and pursuits by the street-intendant; and these again are entered upon a record kept at the principal municipal office of the district. Births and deaths are punctually recorded; every man's personal identity is secured and easily ascertainable in every part of the country; and the materials for a general census of the whole population of the empire are thus constantly available and within reach. The Japanese Government doubtless possesses a correct knowledge of the amount of population, but invariably affects ignorance on this point. The native teachers hired by foreigners in these parts are strictly charged by the officers to confine themselves to the mere employment of teaching the meaning of Japanese words, and to furnish no information respecting the government. The sight of a note-book is sometimes sufficient to interrupt even the most communicative of this class in the flow of their conversation. Although the great princes and feudal lords are reputed to maintain a proud and exclusive spirit in their mutual demeanour among themselves, the common and lower classes of Japanese manifest a sociable, courteous and friendly disposition in the ordinary intercourse of life. Their conduct during some

recent cases of shipwreck on the coast has been highly creditable and praiseworthy. In the case of the "Nymph" wrecked near Simoda, every assistance was afforded by the natives in rescuing the crew and saving the cargo for its owners. The remarkable kindness and hospitality shown by the natives of one of the Loochoo group of islands at the close of 1859 towards the captain and crew of the "Joseph Fletcher," will be fresh in the memory of most persons in China. They assisted the shipwrecked strangers in reaching Napa after a journey of several days, and in proceeding in a native junk to the coast of China. It was with the greatest difficulty that their unwillingness to receive a reward was overcome, and one of the Loochooan officials was induced to accept the captain's ring as a farewell memento of gratitude.

At this time great activity prevailed in procuring Japanese horses for the Anglo-French expedition in the north of China. The scenes which have been described at Nagasaki were to be witnessed also in the streets of Kanagawa and along the Tokaido, in which a thousand horses were collected at various points in preparation for shipment. A remarkable order was sent down from Yeddo about the same time conveying the resolution of the Japanese Government to put in force the regulations against subjects of all countries not having diplomatic relations with Japan. Some months since a Danish vessel was peremptorily ordered to quit the harbour of Nagasaki on this ground; and a similar measure on the part of the Chinese Government would be

hailed with satisfaction by every class of foreign residents in the consular ports of China, where the concession of the rights of extra-territoriality has seriously embarrassed the Chinese Government, and has let loose upon the Chinese coast lawless bodies of piratical desperadoes from Europe and America, who by professing themselves subjects of non-treaty powers place themselves beyond the control of the foreign consuls, and at the same time brave and defy the authority of native magistrates. In Japan the government is stronger and more resolute in carrying out in its utmost rigour the exclusion of foreigners trading under no recognised and privileged flag. The despatch from Yeddo more particularly ordered that all *Chinese* not registered as servants or assistants in connection with British and American houses, should forthwith be deported as the subjects of a non-treaty power. Every foreign captain was required on his arrival at Kanagawa to furnish a list of the Chinese on board, and to permit none of them to land except those privileged to remain in the employment of the European and American residents.

The prospects of foreign trade are on the whole encouraging; and if preliminary difficulties be overcome and a spirit of conciliatory forbearance exercised, there is reason to hope that the most sanguine expectations of foreigners may eventually be realised. The following extract from a recent Washington newspaper will best describe the present condition of foreign trade:—

"OUR TRADE WITH JAPAN.

"The despatches received at the State Department from Mr. Harris, our minister to Japan, represent that the prospects of a profitable commercial intercourse with that country are very encouraging. The American treaty with Japan went into effect on the 4th of July 1859, but the opening of trade between the two countries did not actually take place until the month of September. Mr. Harris's despatch to the State Department, under date of the 11th of July last, states that up to that time, a period of ten months, the aggregate export trade of Japan was five millions of dollars. Four vessels with cargoes cleared for ports in the United States, 'but this,' adds Mr. Harris, 'only represents a portion of the American interests, as a large amount of American capital and tonnage finds a profitable employment in the trade with China, and at Kanagawa American citizens form more than a moiety of the foreign population.'

"The principal articles exported were as follows:

"'Raw silks, 3000 bales; tea, 15,000 chests; vegetable wax, and oil to the value of half a million; and manufactures of silk, copper, and lacquered ware; considerable quantities of tobacco, paper, camphor, flour, peas, beans, edible sea-weed, isinglass, *bêche de mer*, and dried oysters and limpets, with various other articles, shipped for the China markets.'

"The probabilities of trade are thus set forth by Mr. Harris:—

"'The production of silk and tea can no doubt be largely increased, as the Japanese admit that they have not heretofore reeled all the cocoons produced or picked all the tea grown.

"'The Japanese have already learned the manner of preparing tea for a sea voyage, and I am of opinion that within a few years the choicest teas known in the United States will be of the Japanese production, as many of the sorts are superior to any of the teas of China.

"'But little has been done as yet with imports, and the establishment of an extended trade must of necessity be the work of time. To a certain extent, new wants must be created among the masses, and, what is of equal importance, they must discover that the labour now expended by them in producing a given article will, when directed to another employment, produce in exchange either more than they now obtain, or an article that is preferable to their own.

"'Attention has been directed to the procuring of goods of lengths, widths, colours, and patterns suited to Japanese taste; this is an important step in the right direction; for American manufactures, I am of opinion that the heavy cottons known in commerce as drills, jeans, sheetings, and shirtings, will be the earliest in demand.

"'A careful review of the commercial operations for the last ten months shows a satisfactory result, and if an ordinary degree of prudence in dealing with the Japanese is observed by the foreigners who come

to this country, it cannot be doubted that a large and beneficial intercourse can be securely established in Japan, and that but a few years will be required to secure so desirable a result.'

"Mr. Harris's latest despatch states that he was to have an audience of the Tycoon on the 20th of August. It also announces the departure of the American barque 'Mary Louisa' from Kanagawa, on the 9th of August, with a cargo valued at 700,000 dollars. This is an indication that the American trade opens under favourable circumstances, and confirms the predictions of Mr. Harris uttered nearly a month before."

The relations between the American missionaries and the neighbouring officers of government appear to partake of a distant kind of friendliness. The latter appear to be well aware of the character and objects of Christian teachers. The missionaries regard their present work as one of preparation, of conciliating the friendly attention of the natives, and of qualifying themselves by linguistic studies for more decisive missionary action, whenever prudence, the gradual breaking down of native prejudice, and the disarming of the jealous fears of the government shall suggest the expediency of such a course. During my stay Mr. and Mrs. Brown received a visit from a party of native officials who came to introduce the new vice-governor of Kanagawa. They remained for half an hour, making many inquiries and also responding to our questions, carefully, however, avoiding any committal of themselves by giving us any information about political matters.

The vice-governor brought in his train an interpreter, who had a slight knowledge of English and described the vice-governor's office as that of one commissioned to "bind" thieves and disorderly people. They professed entire ignorance respecting the natives who had been apprehended and carried forcibly away from the dwelling of a neighbouring missionary. We alluded to the arrival of the Japanese embassy at San Francisco; but it did not appear to excite in them much attention. They all seemed very partial to the two younger children; and the chief official especially fondled them and manifested great interest in them. While admitting the many advantages in point of independence, locomotive freedom, and few cares, which sometimes, in the circumstances of a new, untried, and unestablished missionary station, give on the whole a preponderance in favour of an unmarried missionary, it must be acknowledged also that a missionary family, reflecting the example and diffusing abroad the hallowed influences of a *Christian home*, is an element of moral power, and a practical appeal in contrast with the institutions of pagan society, which it is impossible to exaggerate and overrate. The Christian wife speaks to the heart, and is a living sermon addressed to the conscience of her own sex among the native population. A missionary's children are ties which bind their parents to the land of their children's birth. The first prattlings of their infant tongues are in the language of their adopted home, and form a powerful bond of sympathy between them and the native race. They are hostages and living

guarantees afforded to native society, and preach in all the tender and affecting helplessness of childhood to the better feelings of humanity.

The elder daughter, a young lady of pleasing manners and accomplishments, played some airs on the piano, to which they listened with apparent pleasure, loudly applauding at the close, and evincing great curiosity in endeavouring to comprehend the mechanism of the instrument. They shook hands with each of us at parting.

A message soon after was forwarded by the Japanese vice-governor through the American Consul to Mr. Brown, initiating a proposal that the latter should undertake the training of a class of Japanese youths in the English language, with the view of their qualifying themselves to become interpreters under the government. It appears that the imperial college at Yeddo for raising a body of Dutch interpreters, which has long been a currently reported fact, is a mere myth entirely destitute of reality. For a long time the native officers persisted in maintaining this falsehood, but at last in the pressing exigency of their wants acknowledged to the British interpreter at Yeddo the non-existence of the aforesaid college. The negotiations with Mr. Brown were yet incomplete at the period of my visit; but appear likely to terminate in an arrangement that ten or twelve Japanese youths of the average age of fifteen years will be specially set apart and released from all other engagements than the work of learning the English language under the entire management of Mr. Brown, giving three hours

daily to the recitation of English lessons, and the same daily period of time to the preparation of their task. The Japanese Government is prepared to build a schoolhouse for the purpose, and to defray the cost of their boarding at their own respective homes. In the absence of direct opportunities of missionary intercourse with the native population, such an engagement as that which has been described, may open important channels of favourable influence in conciliating the friendly regard of the rising generation towards their Christian instructor.

The following letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, and published in the "Monthly Reporter" of that society, will convey a general summary of my views on the present opportunities of missionary action in Japan:—

"Yeddo, Japan, May 30th, 1860.

"When the attention of Christians in England was turned in the direction of Japan by the intelligence of treaties having been concluded between the Japanese Government and the various powers of Western Christendom, it was only reasonable to expect that the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society should be led to inquire in what way their own special agencies of publishing and circulating the Holy Scriptures could be rendered, in the peculiar circumstances of Japan, conducive to the spread of the Gospel in this land.

"Letters were accordingly written by you to the

Secretary of the Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society at Hongkong, and to myself, who have the honour of being president of that local committee, conveying to us inquiries and proposals in reference to such a work. Our friends at Hongkong had their usual quarterly meeting at my house, and we agreed that, in the present state of things, it was inexpedient to do more than reprint a small edition of the gospel of St. Luke, which had been already cut on Chinese blocks a few years ago, at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

"I engaged to bring with me one hundred copies to Japan—where I have now been for nearly two months—for the purpose of ascertaining from competent Japanese scholars some report on the character of the version as to idiomatic style, and also of testing by experiment the practicability of distributing the Holy Scriptures in Japanese among the native population.

"On the former point I have scarcely anything to announce beyond what the committee already know, viz. the decisive testimony of Professor Hoffman to the general excellence of the Japanese idiomatic style on the one hand, and the unfavourable strictures of Rev. S. C. Malan on the Japanese idiom, and more especially on the exegetical accuracy of the version on the other. This version is, I was told, now in course of revision by its author, Dr. Bettelheim, formerly of the Loochoo mission, and now settled in the United States, by whom the revised version — comprising, in MS., the Gospels and Acts — has been sold to the

American Bible Union. As a first edition, employed as a tentative experiment in Japan, the portions of Luke already published may be hoped to be not without their usefulness and value. Some two or three hundred copies of this Japanese version of Luke, as well as of the Loochooan version of Luke, John, Acts, and Romans, probably are still lying in the temple at Napa, in the state in which they were left when the second missionary, Rev. G. H. Moreton, left Loochoo, rigorously watched by the Japanese police in the island, and excluded from the possibility of circulation among the Loochooan population.

"On the second point I am sorry to have to inform you that all the Protestant missionaries now in Japan concur in the view that it is highly impolitic and inexpedient, in the present temper of the Japanese Government, to attempt any distribution of a Japanese version of the Holy Scriptures among the people. Even the native teachers who assist them in acquiring the language evince considerable alarm, anxiety, and even dismay, whenever Luke's gospel in Japanese is produced, and the conversation is drawn to the subject of Christian doctrines. The missionaries all believe that, by degrees, a conciliatory course of avoiding any violence to their prejudices, and a cautious abstinence from directly aggressive missionary action, will prepare the way for more enlarged missionary openings. At first, both here (*i. e.* at the consular port of Kanagawa, distant seventeen miles from this city) and at Nagasaki, efforts were made by the custom-house native authorities to compel the missionaries to deliver

up all Christian books. As the native officials do not regard Chinese books with the same prejudice as books translated into Japanese, it is probable that the delegates' version of the Bible in Chinese, and also tracts and books in that language, will for some time be the only available medium of communicating religious truth to the Japanese. Every educated Japanese can read the Chinese character.

"I have divided a portion of the hundred copies of Luke in Japanese, interclaused with a Chinese version, which I brought with me from Hongkong, between Rev. Messrs. Williams and Verbeck, at Nagasaki, and have arranged to leave the remaining copies with Rev. Messrs. Brown, Hepburn, Goble, and Simmons, at Kanagawa. They will watch opportunities for their prudent distribution, and will probably, in due time, report on the value of the version, and (I hope also) may be able to announce a wider and more open field for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Japan."

CHAP. XXX.

DEPARTURE FROM JAPAN.

BRIEF NOTICE OF HAKODADI. — VOYAGE TO THE CALIFORNIAN PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO. — LOCAL EXCITEMENT AT RECENT ARRIVAL OF JAPANESE EMBASSY.—THE AUTHOR'S PUBLIC LETTER TO JUDGE M'ALLISTER ON THE LOCAL OPPRESSIVENESS OF AMERICAN LAW AGAINST THE MONGOLIAN RACE. — PROBABLE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN JAPANESE RACE AND SOME OF THE NORTH-WEST AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES. —ETHNOLOGICAL INTEREST ATTACHING TO THE SUBJECT.—LETTER OF LIEUTENANT BROOKE U.S.N. TO MR. SECRETARY TOUCEY.—CONCLUSION.

THE other newly-opened port of Hakodadi in the northern island of Yesso did not appear to me in point of number of European residents or general interest, of sufficient importance to compensate for the delay and other inconveniences of a voyage in a sailing vessel thither and back of 1000 miles. The opportunities were also very few and uncertain. By omitting this part of my intended Japanese tour, I was providentially preserved in all probability from the melancholy and disastrous fate of H.M.S. "Camilla" which foundered with the loss of every person on board during a typhoon on her return voyage from Hakodadi to Kanagawa in the beginning of September 1860.

Hakodadi is of small importance as a place of trade and is valuable chiefly as the resort of whaling vessels

and a depôt for coal of a bituminous quality which abounds in the neighbourhood. It contains only about thirty European residents. Its chief exports are the *bêche de mer* or sea-slug, and various kinds of dried shell-fish. The extremes of cold are much greater than at Nagasaki and Kanagawa, where the tepid waters of a gulf-stream and their more southern latitude combine in causing the prevalence of mild winters and a moderate range of temperature.

I append an extract from the "North China Herald" of a year's meteorological observations for 1859. The neighbourhood of Hakodadi seems to have its full participation in the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions of the Japanese coast.

It was with mingled and conflicting feelings that I finally quitted the scenes of my pleasant wanderings in Japan, and the society of the kind friends beneath whose hospitable roof I found the comforts of a Christian home amid this pagan population. To all the missionaries, to several of the mercantile residents, and to the British and American Consuls during my ten weeks' stay in Japan I was indebted for many acts of friendly kindness. My dear friends Mr. and Mrs. Brown at Kanagawa, and Mr. Williams at Nagasaki claim a special prominence of grateful mention for all their many acts of considerate attention during the time of my residence with them. Embarking in a small American merchant-vessel bound to California, I finally sailed out of the Bay of Yeddo on June 17th and after a voyage of nearly 5000 miles across the North Pacific arrived in thirty-eight days

RESULT OF METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT HAKODADI,

From 1st January to 31st December 1859.

Taken at 7 A.M., 2 & 9 P.M.

Months.	Barometer.			Thermometer Fahrenheit.					Days of		Wind.	Observations.
	Max. Mean.	*Min.* Mean.	Mean.	*Max.* Absol.	*Min.* Absol.	*Max.* Mean.	*Min.* Mean.	Mean.	Rain.	Snow.		
January	30,123	29,409	29,924	40·10	14·00	35·60	17·00	25·84	1	11	W. & N.W.	15th earthquake 2 shocks.
February . . .	30,309	29,775	30,068	42·12	17·38	39·29	23·41	30·45	2	6	Id.	25th earthquake 2 shocks.
March	30,339	29,659	30,046	59·67	20·30	48·47	26·04	35·60	4	5	Id.	
April	30,434	29,533	29,971	64·40	36·72	54·83	40·03	46·40	3	1	Id.	26th earthquake 1 shock.
May	30,147	29,715	29,875	72·50	41·00	62·03	45·09	53·33	7	—		Variable.
June	30,006	29,442	29,735	72·50	48·20	64·28	49·88	57·71	14	—	E. & N.E.	12th earthquake 1 shock.
July	30,019	29,567	29,769	81·05	59·45	74·23	62·64	68·38	16	—	Id.	
August	30,035	29,027	29,758	80·15	60·12	73·96	61·36	69·73	18	—	Id.	15th earthquake 1 shock.
September . . .	30,341	29,125	29,828	75·42	47·75	71·93	52·97	61·97	16	—	W. & N.W.	2nd eruption of volcano, storm.
October	30,328	29,577	29,970	67·55	37·62	60·95	41·00	52·70	17	4	Id.	Four storms.
November . . .	30,205	29,541	29,979	60·12	27·50	52·52	36·77	43·88	8	3	Id.	Two storms.
December . . .	30,144	29,215	29,733	55·02	18·28	45·65	21·05	3 2·18	5	13	Id.	28th earthquake 1 shock.
Result	—	—	29,888	81·05	14·00	—	—	48·18	111	43	W. & N.W.	6 earthquakes, 7 storms and 1 volcanic eruption.

Means of the year: Barom. 29·888, Therm. 48·18.

at San Francisco. I took steamer thence to Panama, and crossing the Isthmus in a railway trip of only three hours' duration, re-embarked on the Atlantic side in a steamer for New York. I arrived at Southampton on a temporary visit to England on October 16th, accomplishing the entire voyage from Japan (exclusive of a stay of eight days in San Francisco and six weeks in New York and other parts of the United States) in seventy days.

During my brief stay in the city of San Francisco great excitement prevailed through the recent visit of the Japanese ambassadors and their suite *en route* to Washington. The allusions already made by me to this unprecedented event in the modern history of the Japanese race will have conveyed to the reader my own impressions respecting the important results likely to follow from this marked departure from the traditionary policy of the Japanese Government. The American nation and Government are fairly entitled to all the credit which attaches to this remarkable achievement of their pacific diplomacy. The particulars of their reception by the President at Washington,—the public fêtes which greeted them on their arrival at New York,—the universal excitement which attended their progress in various cities of the American Union,—and the munificent liberality of the American Government in conveying the Japanese embassy in a national vessel free of all expense on their return to their native land,—form a conspicuous era in the international intercourse of the two races, and may reasonably be expected to hasten the

downfall of that barrier which separates this oriental people from the nations of Western Christendom. The official despatches published by the authority of the government at Washington contain the following announcement respecting the proceedings of the American Consul-General at Yeddo in connection with the Japanese embassy.

"On the 16th of August Mr. Harris apprised the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the safe arrival of the embassy at Washington, and added the following message from the government :—

"'I am directed to express to you the satisfaction felt by my government at the arrival of the embassy, and to inform you that every attention and kindness will be shown to its members, who will be invited to visit various parts of the country, and when they desire to return they will be brought back to Japan by ships of the United States' navy.

"'You are requested to convey to His Majesty the Tycoon the expression of the satisfaction felt by the President of the United States at the arrival of the embassy, and his contentment at the honourable deportment of the ambassadors, who have made themselves acceptable wherever they have been. The President confidently expects that this mission will serve to strengthen the bonds of amity now happily existing between the two nations.'"

And yet what would have been the probable astonishment and indignation excited at Yeddo if Mr. Harris had also at the same time communicated to the Japanese Government the following items of

information, viz.:—that by an act of the Californian State Legislature no individual of African or Indian blood was permitted to give evidence in the courts of judicature in any case in which an American or European might be concerned,—that the chief justice of the Californian Supreme Court had ruled that under the term "Indian" the Mongolian race was included,—that consequently the Japanese (as well as the Chinese against whom this decision was specially aimed) were incapacitated from giving evidence in any court of justice,—and that, as a part of the natural effects of such a state of American law, if any white assassin had intruded into this publicly-fêted company of dignified Japanese guests and strangers, and unseen by a fellow white man had plunged a bowie-knife or fired a revolver into the heart of the chief ambassador himself, such a murderous act must have gone unpunished through the absence of legal testimony, and even fifty Japanese eye-witnesses would in the eye of Californian law-givers be deemed valueless and inadmissible in bringing the penal consequences of his guilty deed upon the evil-doer.* It is in no spirit of unkindness, or of officious intermeddling with matters beyond the legitimate sphere of a Christian minister's duty, that I again appeal to the good feeling of American

* The editor of one of the San Francisco newspapers in a leading article supporting the views propounded in my published letter, actually instanced this supposed case of the murder of the Japanese ambassadors as an example in point illustrative of the inconsistency and injustice of the present state of Californian law in relation to Asiatic races.

Christians on behalf of the Oriental people who are now dwelling within their borders, and republish a letter which obtained at the time an extensive circulation in the newspaper-press of the United States. During my stay in San Francisco I addressed the following public letter to my respected friend and host Judge McAllister:—

"San Francisco, July 30th 1860.

"My dear Sir,—Until my arrival in this city I had never become cognisant of the fact that by the legislative action of this state every individual among the 45,000 Chinese immigrants in California is incapacitated from giving evidence in your courts of law; and that under no circumstances of cruel oppression, injustice or violence, is the possibility of redress open to a Chinese in this state, unless he be so fortunate as to have a European eye-witness to bear testimony to the facts of his wrong.

"Chinese merchants in this city of the highest respectability, who received their education under my roof at Hongkong, have called my attention to this exceptional legislation, and have feelingly detailed to me cases of almost unparalleled hardship to which their fellow-countrymen are exposed as long as this enactment retains its place in the statute-book of your local legislature. They are pillaged, plundered, assaulted, and even murdered by European and American miscreants in your gold-fields; and in the absence of European witnesses there remains to these poor Chinese no alternative but that of helplessly and

hopelessly submitting to the oppression caused by this unequal law. A hundred Chinese may have witnessed the deed of violence, but their united testimony is deemed worthless and inadmissible against a European or American evil-doer within the limits of this state.

"In the name of all that is just, equitable, and humane—in the name of the Christian missionaries who are endeavouring on the soil of China itself to impress the Chinese people and rulers favourably respecting the equal toleration and beneficent laws of Christian lands—in the name of your American plenipotentiaries, who, in China and Japan, are demanding for American citizens equal privileges, immunities, and rights from the governments of those pagan lands—in the name of our common Christianity, to whose merciful and tolerant spirit your institutions and laws are professedly conformed—I exhort and entreat the Christian citizens of your great and powerful country to arouse themselves to a consideration of this Chinese grievance, and to apply themselves vigorously to a repeal of this obnoxious act.

"An intelligent American jury might doubtless be permitted to hear Chinese evidence, and be left to weigh for themselves the real value to be attached to the statements of individual Chinese witnesses. At all events an exception might and ought to be made in favour of those Chinese who profess the Christian religion. It is better that the exclusion of Chinese from the witness-box in your courts of law should be

based on objections to the defective character of pagan morality than on invidious distinctions calculated to depress the Chinese as a race.

"Sixteen years' experience of the Chinese as a people, and a personal observation of their character and pursuits in cities of the Chinese continent and as settlers in Singapore, Java, Australia, and Japan, have led me to the belief that as a body they are an industrious, orderly, peaceable, and well-disposed race, and that no danger to your institutions or commercial prosperity need be feared from the Chinese immigrants attracted to your shores.

"Many an aged parent in China itself is enjoying ease and affluence in his native home, supported by the hard toil and earnings of their sons who have crossed the broad Pacific on the errand of filial piety, and are helping to shed a ray of joy and comfort around the native domestic hearth.

"During my stay under your hospitable roof you have been yourself an eye-witness of scenes in which individual Chinese in this city have afforded substantial and munificent proof of their gratitude towards their former benefactors and instructors in China. On their behalf I raise my voice in earnest deprecation of that system of legislation by which they are now exposed to the suffering of injury without remedy or redress.

"In the hasty preparations for my speedy departure from this city I have taken the liberty, without previous consultation with you, of addressing to you this

letter, and remain, my dear Sir, with much respect, yours, very sincerely,

"GEORGE SMITH, D.D.
"Bishop of Victoria, Hong-kong."

During a subsequent visit to Washington some interesting facts came to my knowledge, having an important bearing on the early origin of races and the probability of a connection being traceable between the ancient Japanese and some of the aboriginal Indian tribes on the north-western coast of America. The Honourable Mr. Toucey, Secretary to the U.S. Navy, with the usual courtesy which I uniformly experienced from every class of American citizens during my stay in the United States, gratified my wish to procure the facts in a more permanent form. The following letter to Mr. Secretary Toucey from one of the most intelligent officers of the American navy was written at my request; and to both these gentlemen my best thanks are due. Its general interest and valuable communication to the cause of ethnological science will render unnecessary any apology for the insertion of the letter at length.

"Washington, September 24th 1860.

"SIR,

"At your request I submit with pleasure the following relation of an incident which throws a gleam of light upon the origin of at least one of the Indian tribes of California; and which may lead to investiga-

tion favourable to the attainment of interesting, if not altogether unexpected results.

"Soon after the arrival of the Japanese government steamer 'Candinamarrah' at San Francisco, the Admiral Keni-mov-rah-set-to-no-kami, Captains Katslintarro and Mangiro, with several other officers of the ship, were invited by Captain Frisbie, son-in-law of General Vallejo, to visit his farm. After a very pleasant excursion, we partook of a collation at the residence of Captain Frisbie. At table I remarked incidentally that the Japanese word for milk was *tche-tche*. Captain Frisbie said: 'That is singular; it is the same in Spanish.' 'No,' said his brother, Dr. Frisbie, '*tche-tche* is an Indian word adopted by the early Spanish settlers.' Whilst I was thinking of this coincidence an Indian boy Martinez who had been taken into the family of Captain Frisbie when very young, entered the room. Captain Mangiro tapped me on the shoulder and pointing to Martinez said, 'Where you get him?' I replied, 'He is a Californian, an Indian.' 'No,' said Mangiro, shaking his head, 'Nippon, Nippon.' Captain Katslintarro at the same time made a similar inquiry of Captain Frisbie, and upon his saying 'California Indian' he too exclaimed 'No, Nippon, Nippon.' Our attention being thus directed to Martinez, we also perceived a strong resemblance. The Japanese, some six or seven in number, fixed their eyes upon Martinez, who seemed much annoyed by the scrutiny to which he was subjected.

"'I will talk to that boy,' said Mangiro; but Captain

Frisbie remarked, 'He cannot speak the language of his tribe. Perhaps,' added he, 'a lady now in the house, a daughter of General Vallejo, may remember some words of the language: she was once familiar with it.' Soon after Mangiro came to me, his face lighted up with an expression of triumph, exclaiming, 'Captain, what I tell you is true; this Indian come first from Japan. I have spoken to the lady and I find many words (more than six words) the same. This Indian come first in junk from Japan long time ago. You know we have plenty typhoons in Japan; I told you I met Japan sailors in Sandwich Islands—I think many junks go that way.'

"Mangiro and Katslintarro are men of intelligence and quick perception. The former was wrecked several years ago upon an island in the North Pacific; and was rescued by Captain Whitfield of Fairhaven, who brought him to this country, where he acquired the rudiments of an English education. I regret that I had not leisure at the time to pursue this interesting subject, but I have since written to Captain Frisbie, requesting him to compile if possible a vocabulary of the language of Martinez' tribe, which it is probable will soon be extinct. A comparison of such words as he may succeed in obtaining with those of Japanese vocabularies, will determine the truth of Mangiro's supposition, which was also that of his brother officers.

"When we consider that both the winds and currents of the North Pacific as well as the typhoons, which, after disabling, drive the Japanese junks from the

land, all tend to force them to California, this supposition does not appear irrational. A junk disabled in the latitude of Yeddo would be swept by alternate south-west and north-west winds, and the existing north-easterly current, towards the north-west coast of America: one has reached the mouth of the Columbia, and our whalemen frequently find them drifting at the mercy of wind and waves midway in the Pacific. The distance from Cape King to San Francisco is about four thousand five hundred miles; a junk thus permitted to drift, would at some seasons of the year make probably thirty miles a day. Many of the vessels employed in the coasting trade, which has been carried on from a very early period of the Japanese history, are laden with rice from Southern Japan, or fish from the northern islands; and as there is much rain on the route, easily caught, they would have abundant means of subsistence for even more than one hundred and fifty days, the time required for the transit at the supposed rate of drift. It would be singular indeed if none were thus swept across the ocean. It may be presumed however that the greater number of such as are driven from their own coasts founder in the heavy gales they encounter, particularly when disabled and nearly unmanageable. Massah Kitchie, the Japanese who was taken by me in the 'Cooper' from the Sandwich Islands to Japan, and who, as I learn by a recent letter from that country, has been promoted to the rank of an officer with the privilege of wearing two swords, informed me as did also Mr. Heco, that the junks to which they belonged

being disabled, were sometimes put before the wind to the eastward, after endeavouring in Mr. Heco's case to prevent drift by letting go the anchors, which eventually parted their cables in the open sea.

"I have the honour to be very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN M. BROOKE.

Lieut. U.S.N.

"The Hon. Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C."

CONCLUSION.

The reader and the author have together pursued their journey of exploration amid the varied scenes and novel incidents of Japanese life, and are *now* about to separate and part company. A few words of brief conclusion will terminate their temporary companionship in travel.

If the narrative contained in these pages shall have the effect of diffusing more widely abroad *an* intelligent and benevolent interest in the Japanese race;—if it shall tend to awaken in the merchants, the manufacturers and the traders of western lands a *deeper* sense of responsibility to the divine law in their dealings with this nation;—if it shall help to arouse in the statesmen and diplomatists of Europe and America a livelier perception of their weighty obligations in rendering our more intimate relations with Japan an

era fraught with real blessing and advantage to her people;—if it shall excite in the minds of Christians on both sides of the Atlantic a spirit of earnest prayer on behalf of this interesting portion of mankind—that the moral, social and political obstacles which now hinder the successful work of Christian missions may in the providence of God be removed, and these sons of "the Rising Day" be made willing to receive the everlasting Gospel in the day of His power;—then the writer will deem himself happy in having achieved the great object of his undertaking, and commends the result to the Almighty Author of every blessing.

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